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THE VERBAL PIECE IN JEBERO

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PREFACE

This monograph is an abridgement of a thesis entitled *The Structure and Function of the Verbal Piece in the Jebero Language*, presented to the University of London in 1958. As the first study of an American Indian language presented in London it is particularly significant to acknowledge that this work has grown out of the vision and interest of Professors J. R. Firth and K. L. Pike. In a very real sense the whole project was of their conception. I am greatly indebted to them both not only for my training in descriptive linguistics but also for their helpful suggestions in London and in the field. My debt to my supervisor, Mr. R. H. Robins, is also very considerable. His comments and those of Professor W. S. Allen have been most valuable.

Sincere thanks are due to the University of London for a grant from the University Central Research Fund to meet the cost of my travelling expenses and to my colleagues in the Summer Institute of Linguistics both for the help and advice that made it possible to contact and work among the Jebero tribe and for the use of the facilities of the Summer Institute of Linguistics base in the heart of the jungles of Peruvian Amazonia.

In this abridgement it has been necessary to omit some of the original material, including many charts, examples, and texts. Reference, however, is made to any sizeable omissions. A limited number of mimeographed copies of the original thesis may be obtained from the author.

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LIST OF SYMBOLS

A	adverb
a	adjective
aD	deictic adjective
AdSx	adverb derivational suffix
AH	adverb head
AR	adverb root
AS	adverb stem
AX	adverb expansion
Cc	concordial clause
Ci	included clause
Cn	non-concordial clause
D	deictic
FN	nominal phrase
FA	adverb phrase
Fr	relative phrase
I	interjection
N	nominal
n	noun
NdSx	nominal derivational suffix
NH	nominal head
NP	nominal piece
NR	nominal root
NS	nominal stem
nvSx	non-verbal suffix
NX	nominal expansion
P	particle
p	pronoun
PD	deictic particle
PF	pause form
Px	prefix
R	root
r	relative
rH	relative Head
rX	relative expansion
S	stem
ST	sentence-type
STi	included sentence-type
Sx	suffix
V	verb
VE	verb extensor
VePx	verb expanding prefix
VH	verbal head
ViSx	verb inflectional suffix
Voc	vocative piece
VP	verbal piece
Vp	predicative verb
VR	verb root
VS	verb stem
VsPx	verb stem forming prefix
VsSx	verb stem forming suffix
VX	verbal expansion
W	word
WSx	word suffix

Roman or arabic numerals and letters of the alphabet occurring after the above symbols indicate the class or sub-class of the particular category.

The letters *s* and *c* occurring after a symbol indicate simple and complex.

Chapter One: Introduction

11 The Jebero People. The Jebero language is spoken today by about 1,500 people living between the Marañon and Huallaga rivers of North-eastern Peru and concentrated for the most part in and around the village known today as Jeberos at approximately Latitude 5° S and Longitude 76° W. Records concerning the Jebero tribe go back as far as 1638 when they were first visited by Father Lucas de la Cueva. Brief references to the Jebero people are found in a number of missionary accounts and historical works, of which the most important are listed in the Bibliography. For further details see the *Handbook of South American Indians.*[1]

12 The Jebero language. The Jebero language is generally classified as a member of the Cahuapana group of languages of North-eastern Peru, following the classification of Beuchat and Rivet,[2] but Steward and Métraux[3] question the validity of this entire grouping. Linguistic evidence for any classification of these languages into a family is inadequate, and geographical reasons alone account for the assignment of some of the languages to the Cahuapanan group. It is to be hoped that though linguistic material in many of these languages is completely lacking for the past centuries, the descriptive studies recently begun by members of the Summer Institute of Linguistics in the surviving languages of Eastern Peru will provide a basis for a proper synchronic classification of the members of this and other language families of the area.

As far as is known the only Jebero material dating back before the 19th century is in the British Museum, where there are two Jebero MSS. The name of the author of these MSS is not given, but it seems probable that he was a German who was a member of the Jesuit mission to the Jebero in the second half of the 18th century, since he makes references to the pronunciation of German in describing the sounds of Jebero. Moreover, one of the MSS contains material which the author asserts dates from the earliest times of the mission, i.e. the mid-17th century.

The first of these MSS[4] is entitled *Vocabulario en la Lengua Castellana,*

[1] J. H. Steward (Ed.), *Handbook of South American Indians*, Vol. III (Washington, 1949), pp. 604–614.

[2] Beuchat and Rivet, "La famille linguistique Cahuapana," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, XLI (1909), 616.

[3] *Handbook of South American Indians*, III, 605.

[4] MS. No. 25,323 in the Spanish Collection of MSS.

la del Ynga, y Xebera, and has 35 leaves of a small octavo size. It begins with a discussion of the pronunciation of Jebero, and then gives a vocabulary of about 1,300 Jebero entries. The sounds of the language are described as difficult to a European and often fluctuating in character. For instance the author states that *d*, *l*, *r*, and *h* frequently alternate, or an indistinct sound is uttered which may approach any one of them. In this way he seems to be attempting to find sounds in European languages similar to the frictionless continuant *ð* (see section **238**), since he refers to words which are now found to contain that sound. He comments that *n* is uttered so slightly as to be scarcely audible, and at another point seems to be referring to the feature of glottalization running through the syllable. Both features are treated below, in chapter 3, as prosodic.

The second MS,[5] catalogued as *Grammatica de la Lengua Xebera* contains a short "Latin-style" grammatical sketch and some translated material, including prayers, the ten commandments, and the Creed. It was from this material that Brinton published his article, erroneously entitled "The Jivaro language."[6] The Jebero language and people are completely distinct from the Jivaro language and people.

A little Jebero material is found in the 19th century—fourteen words in James Orton's book,[7] and five in an article by Raimondi.[8] The third 19th-century document is an anonymous MS in the National Library of Rio de Janeiro. It was written in French, and is first referred to by Rivet and Tastevin[9] in 1931. In 1922 Tastevin recorded a vocabulary of Jebero from informants who came from the river Aipena. This material, together with the MS in the Brazil Library, is used by Rivet and Tastevin. The authors give a grammatical sketch of Jebero in some 14 pages and a vocabulary of 29 pages. In 1925 the anthropologist Tessman visited the Jebero and later published[10] details of their material and social culture. At the end of his account he has four paragraphs on Jebero grammar and a vocabulary of 250 words. As in all the other Jebero material already mentioned, there is no record of the glottal stop or of any glottal feature, which is a serious lack, since this is a very common and important phenomenon in Jebero.

[5] MS. No. 25,324 in the Spanish Collection of MSS.

[6] *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* XXX (1892), 59–67.

[7] *The Andes and the Amazons, or Across the Continent of South America*, (New York, 1876), p. 473.

[8] "On the Indian Tribes of the Great District of Loreto in Northern Peru," *The Anthropological Review* I (1863), 33.

[9] "Nouvelle contribution à l'étude du groupe Kahuapana," *International Journal of American Linguistics* VI (1931), 227–271.

[10] *Die Indianer Nordost Perus* (Hamburg 1930), pp. 415–440.

13 The present study. This monograph is the result of field work carried out during the period from October 1955 to August 1956. In the course of this stay in Jeberos it was possible to record just over a hundred texts. This study is based largely on these texts and the subsequent discussion of points arising during the analysis. Because of the nature of the texts, this analysis is in the main a study of one style of speech, the narrative.

The aim of this study is threefold: (*a*) to present an analysis of some aspects of the narrative style of speech, and within this delimited field to provide an adequate grammatical description, which (*b*) may serve to exemplify principles that may be applied in the presentation of other studies of South American Indian languages, and, (*c*) may provide a basis for proper synchronic comparison with other languages of this family.

This essay is mainly concerned with the analysis at the grammatical level of the verbal piece in Jebero, but a brief outline of Jebero phonology is also given. The verbal piece itself is a grammatical unit abstracted from the phonic material; it is defined in section **52**. The statement of the verbal piece in Jebero inevitably covers a very large part of the grammatical structure of the language, since Jebero may be called a 'verb centred' language: a large proportion of words in a text are verbs or formed from verb stems.

The use of the terms 'function' and 'structure' should be stated at the outset. By the function of the verbal piece is meant the distribution of the verbal piece in the sentence and its relations to other pieces in the sentence, e.g. concordial relations between the verbal piece and other pieces. By the structure of the verbal piece is meant the distribution and interrelations of the various grammatical elements which are found functioning within the verbal piece. These elements range from the larger elements such as the clause and phrase to elements like the word and morpheme which themselves may function as part of the larger elements. The function of any element is its relation to and distribution with other elements within a larger element. The structure of any element is its composition stated in terms of the grammatical elements which function within it. Thus the function of any word is stated in terms of the constructions into which it enters, and its structure is stated in terms of the classes of morphemes of which it may be composed.

In this way there is set up a hierarchy of levels[11] of grammatical analysis

[11] The term 'level' is here used in a more extended manner than that employed by Prof. J. R. Firth, since the word is used not only for the main divisions of linguistic analysis, e.g. phonetic, phonological, grammatical etc., but also for different stages of analysis within each of these main levels. Thus within the grammatical analysis, which is itself one 'level of analysis' (in the Firthian sense), different levels such as sentence level, clause and phrase level, word level, morpheme level, are recognised in this thesis.

between the sentence on the one hand and the morpheme on the other, and each element in the hierarchy is described in terms of its function—its external distribution as an element within a larger element—and its structure—its internal distribution as an element comprising other grammatical elements. The sentence is the largest piece for which grammatical statements are made (**42**), and the term grammatical function does not apply to it. Similarly the morpheme is the smallest element for which it is possible to make statements at the grammatical level, and the term grammatical structure is therefore inapplicable to the morpheme.

While the grammatical and phonological descriptions of a language may best be considered separate abstractions from the phonic material, it is useful to state congruences between the two levels. Furthermore, the statement of the analysis at one level sometimes aids the statement of the analysis at another level. For these reasons a brief outline of Jebero phonology is included.

14 Some general characteristics of Jebero grammatical structure. At the grammatical level Jebero seems best characterized as agglutinative with inflectional elements. The number of formally distinguished parts of speech is small—four in all: verb, nominal, adverb, and particle. The great majority of words belong to the first two classes. Words consist of a stem with or without other elements. Word stems may comprise a single element or a variety of elements, but always include at least one root. Roots may be combined with other roots to form further stems or affixed by class-changing suffixes to form stems of other word classes, and this process may be continued through many changes. For example, a nominal may be suffixed by a verb-stem-forming suffix and then further suffixed by a nominal-stem-forming suffix.

Various types of affixation are found, but chiefly suffixation. Prefixation is limited to the verb forms. Also, verb forms make up the only word class which is always found to comprise a stem and at least one suffix of an inflectional type. Words may comprise one, two, or several affixes drawn from a large number of non-inflectional suffixes that are arranged in different classes and sub-classes. The grammatical feature which is traditionally termed 'incorporation' is found. Verb stems may comprise elements which correspond closely to similar forms which function as nominals. The object pronominal is also found incorporated; i.e. verbs are always found suffixed by one of a series of suffixes which are either unipersonal or bipersonal.

The person system comprises four terms, first person inclusive, first person exclusive, second, and third person. The number system comprises

two terms, singular and plural, though there is no overt exponent of singular. The first person inclusive singular is formally one member of the four term singular series, though notionally it would be termed plural or, more precisely, dual. Formal and semantic categories are at this point out of phase.

At the syntactical level Jebero sentences may be of a number of patterns. The majority of sentences are of one of two patterns, both of which include a verb. The sentence is always marked by one of a series of intonational pitch patterns. There is considerable congruence of phonological and grammatical boundaries in Jebero; e.g., the sentence corresponds frequently to the intonation tune, and the word, which is primarily a grammatical unit, also has definite phonological marks.

Chapter Two: The transcription

21 General. The symbols here used in the transcription of the Jebero materials correspond for the most part to the symbols suggested in the I.P.A. chart, except that the symbol *l* is used for the palatal lateral. The transcription may be termed phonemic since each symbol corresponds to a phoneme.

22 Table of symbols.

CONSONANTS	Bilabial	Dental Alveolar	Palato-Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops	*p*	*t*		*c*	*k*	*ʾ*
Glottalized		*tʼ*			*kʼ*	
Sibilants		*s*	*ʃ*			
Flap		*r*				
Laterals		*l*		*ɬ*		
Nasals	*m*	*n*		*ñ*	*ŋ*	
Frictionless continuants	*w*	*ð*		*y*		

VOWELS	Front	Central	Back
Close	*i*		*u*
Half-Close		*ə*	
Open		*a*	

23 The phonetic value of the symbols.

231 General. In this section a description of the sounds which these symbols represent is given. Each symbol will be taken in turn and the different sounds which it symbolizes will be described. However, certain phonetic features may be stated not just for the sounds represented by the individual symbols but for a series of sounds represented by a corresponding series of symbols.

232 Stops. There are four stops, each with a different point of articulation: *p* is bilabial; *t* is dental; *c* is palatal, produced with the blade of the tongue in palatal position and the tongue tip down behind the bottom teeth, and released with considerable friction, like an affricate; *k* is velar, fronted before a front vowel and back before a back vowel.

All the stops are unaspirated and voiceless in all phonetic environments, except that after any nasal all stops are voiced. All stops are released,

except that *k* may or may not be released in word final position. In a sequence of consonants within the word *k* followed by *k* is realized as a geminated *k*. Three stops—*p*, *t*, and *c*—may, facultatively, be glottalized in syllables ending *-əḵ*. The glottalization of these stops may be contrasted with the glottalized consonant *ḵ*. Whereas the glottalized forms of the three stops are limited to the one phonetic environment the glottalized consonant *ḵ* is not so limited, and indeed can never occur in such an environment since it is always final in the syllable.

233 Glottalized consonants. The symbols *ṛ*, *ḵ* and *ʾ* represent three glottal sounds. These sounds all involve closure of the glottis. *ṛ* is a voiced alveolar flap with momentary closure of the glottis more or less simultaneously with the contact of the tongue and alveolar ridge. *ḵ* is a velar stop with closure of the glottis more or less simultaneously with the velar closure. In word final position neither the release of the velar stop nor the opening of the glottis is usually heard. *ʾ* is a glottal stop. Closure of the glottis is complete in all phonetic environments except between vowels, where it may or may not be.

234 Sibilants. The symbols *s* and *ʃ* represent two sibilants which contrast in point of articulation as follows: *s* is alveolar, *ʃ* is palato-alveolar. Both sibilants are grooved, voiceless, and unaspirated in all phonetic environments.

235 Flap. The symbol *r* represents a voiced alveolar flap in all phonetic environments.

236 Laterals. The symbols *l* and *ɬ* represent lateral sounds which contrast in point of articulation as follows: *l* is alveolar, *ɬ* is palatal, produced by the blade of the tongue in the palatal region, with the tongue tip down behind the bottom teeth.

237 Nasals. The symbols *m*, *n*, *ñ*, and *ŋ* represent four nasal sounds which differ in point of articulation as follows: *m* is bilabial; *n* is dental; *ñ* is palatal, produced with the blade of the tongue in the palatal region, with the tongue tip down behind the bottom teeth; *ŋ* is velar.

238 Frictionless continuants. The symbols *w*, *ð*, and *y* represent three frictionless continuants, contrasting as to point of articulation, i.e. point of maximum narrowing in the mouth, as follows: *w* is bilabial, with some velarization, i.e. the point of maximum narrowing within the mouth is

at the velum; *ð* is alveolar, with tongue tip right down behind the bottom teeth and point of maximum narrowing being between the tongue blade and the alveolar ridge; *y* is palatal, with point of maximum narrowing being between the tongue blade and palatal region and with tongue tip down. All three sounds are voiced and unaspirated in all positions. Lip features mark *w* and *y*. There is considerable lip rounding with *w*, though this varies depending on the following vowel, being most noticeable with *ə* and least with *i*. There is lip spreading with *y*, and this varies with the following vowel, being most noticeable with *ə* and least with *u*. These lip features appear to vary from speaker to speaker. Slight friction may occasionally be heard with *ð*, though this does not seem to be determined by any phonetic environment. It should be emphasized that in the vast majority of instances, this sound is frictionless.

239 Vowels. The symbols *i*, *a*, *ə*, and *u* represent four vowel sounds which contrast as follows: *i* is close, front, and unrounded; *a* is open, central, and unrounded; *ə* is half close, central-back, and unrounded; *u* is close, back, and rounded. For purposes of description these four vowels fall into two groups, *i*, *a*, and *u*; and *ə*.

i, *a*, and *u* are always fully voiced and are oral vowels except that when followed by a nasal within the syllable each vowel is nasalized to a varying extent. The degree of nasalization is most marked when a free form ending with a nasal is suffixed by a further morpheme. These three vowels are also glottalized when a glottalized consonant closes the syllable. Such glottalization varies considerably, being least apparent within the morpheme and more extensive at points of junction between morphemes. Tenseness also marks these three vowels in such syllables, and *i* and *u* are more open in such syllables. Before a velar sound, *a* is further back and rather more close, sometimes being half-open, in contrast to open in other environments.

The vowel *ə* contrasts with the other vowels. It is not always fully voiced, being voiced or voiceless in syllables ending with *k̆* and voiced in every other phonetic environment. It is never found nasalized or glottalized except preceding *k̆*. Following *w* this vowel is more close and further back than it is in other environments, and lip rounding is present.

Chapter Three: Outline of phonology

31 General. This outline of Jebero phonology attempts to provide an analysis of the phonological structure to which the great majority of words and sentences may be referred. It is not intended to be exhaustive, since it is an outline phonological description in a study which is grammatical in emphasis. It seems clear that any more detailed study of Jebero phonology would profit from the establishment of a number of separate phonological systems for the statement of features which are relevant for parts of the material; e.g. a study of the prosodic feature of nasalization in the nominal would be most rewarding, and such a study might be contrasted with a study of nasalization in the verb, for more detailed statements would be possible if two systems were set up to handle this feature.

32 The elements of the phonological analysis. The phonological analysis is stated by means of certain elements which are set up for this purpose, namely the tune, word, syllable, prosodic feature, and phonematic unit. All these elements are elements of the phonological analysis and are to be distinguished from elements established at another level of statement, e.g. the phonetic or grammatical levels, though the phonological elements may correspond to some elements established at other levels.

All utterances are marked by one of a number of pitch patterns at the phonetic level. The phonological element, the tune, is set up for the statement of these pitch patterns. The tune is concerned with features which may extend over one word or over many words. The tune, which is the largest phonological element, corresponds roughly to the sentence, which is the largest grammatical element (**42**), though the congruence of these two elements from these two different levels is by no means complete (**472**).

The word has status primarily as a grammatical element. However, since every word is delimited by a phonological mark, stress (**3443**), the word is also recognised as having phonological status as an element in the phonological analysis. The structure of the word is described in terms of syllables and prosodic features.

The syllable has status at both the phonological and phonetic levels. The phonetic syllable and the phonological syllable do not always correspond exactly. The alveolar flap in such a word as *wənərapali* 'he is standing' is assigned at the phonological level to the syllable *-nə-* as a prosodic

feature, whereas at the phonetic level the flap is the initial consonant of the syllable *-ra-* **(3334)**. See also **3434** for further examples of noncongruence between the phonological and the phonetic levels. The structure of the syllable is stated in terms of prosodic features and phonematic units.

Prosodic features[1] are phonological elements having phonetic exponents[2] which either extend over more than one place in the syllable or have implications over more than one place in the syllable, in that they delimit a structure from preceding and following structures. Prosodic features may be stated for a sentence, for a whole word, or some part(s) of a word, for a whole or some part(s) of a syllable.

Phonematic units are phonological elements having phonetic exponents which may be referred to one place only in the phonetic structure of the syllable. Phonematic units are of two types, consonantal units and vocalic units. These units will be referred to as C and V units respectively throughout this analysis. Phonematic units should not be identified with the usual phonemes set up by many linguists[3] to handle the phonological analysis, nor are prosodic features to be equated with the supra-segmental phonemes of phonemic phonological analysis. There will, of course, be some similarity between the phonetic exponents of these two pairs of phonological categories, but since the systems of which they are members are different, any attempt to make one for one identifications is bound to be misleading.

33 The syllable.

331 General. The structure of the syllable will be described in terms of two systems, the system of phonematic units and the system of prosodic features, and three places, pre-nuclear, nuclear, and post-nuclear. Different statements are made for the systems, whether prosodic or phonematic, which are stated for these places.[4]

[1] J. R. Firth, "Sounds and Prosodies," *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 1948, pp. 127–152. For an exposition of the theory of phonological analysis stated in terms of prosodic features and phonematic units and a full bibliography of work done in this field, see R. H. Robins, "Aspects of Prosodic Analysis," *Proceedings of the University of Durham Philosophical Society*. Vol. I, Series B (Arts), No. 1, 1957. A prosodic feature may be considered a high level abstraction with a complex of features, any one of which may serve to actualize a given category.

[2] The term phonetic exponent is used for the phonetic actualization of phonological and grammatical categories set up in the analysis.

[3] Cf. W. S. Allen, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* XVI (1954), p. 556.

[4] This is in marked contrast with a phonemic phonological analysis in which one overall system is set up. For example, in such an analysis two phones not in complementary distribution at one point in the structure are assigned to two different phonemes,

Two types of syllable are distinguished at the phonological level, the simple and the complex syllable. The two are similar in very many respects, and the great majority of the syllables in the material examined are referable to the phonological structure of the simple syllable. For these reasons, the full description of the syllable is made as for the simple syllable and then details applicable to the complex syllable are added. Certain more common extra-systemic syllable patterns and some examples of assimilated loan words are given.

332 The phonematic units system.

3321 The system in general. The phonematic units system is a system of two terms, C and V. Every syllable has a nucleus which consists of a V unit which is always found in syllable nuclear place. A syllable may comprise this nucleus alone or a nucleus that is preceded and/or followed by a margin which is always a C unit. Thus four types of syllable are found: V, nucleus alone; VC, nucleus followed by a margin; CV, nucleus preceded by a margin; CVC, nucleus followed and preceded by margin. Thus it will be seen that every syllable has a V unit but not every syllable has a C unit.

The most frequently found type of syllable is the third type listed above; namely, CV. From 73 per cent to 81 per cent of syllables in different text samples were of this structure. V syllables account for about 12 per cent of sample material and CVC for about 10 per cent. VC syllables were found to account for about 1 per cent of the sample material. Syllables of structure V and VC are restricted to initial position in the morpheme and generally to initial position in the word as well. The presence of such syllables is, therefore, prosodically relevant as a mark of morpheme junction.

3322 Nuclear place. Every syllable comprises a nuclear place in which the syllable nucleus, a V unit, functions. There are four V units which together make up a closed system. The members of this four term system are, *I*, *A*, *U*, and *E*. These symbols must not be confused with the symbols of the transcription which have been described in **239**, i.e. *i*, *a*, *u*, and *ə*. The phonetic exponents of these four phonological units are vowels with the following qualities: *I* with closeness and frontness; *A* with openness and centrality; *U* with closeness and backness; *E* with half-closeness and

and this distinction is maintained even at those points in the structure where no contrast exists and the two phones are in complementary distribution. The treatment adopted in this thesis, however, would set up different systems for the two points of the structure. It is polysystemic whereas the phonemic treatment is monosystemic.

central-to-back quality. Examples: *kuða* CV CV 'we', *təǩkaˀli* CVC CV CV 'he ran', *itəǩ* V CVC 'root'.

3323 Pre-nuclear place. The great majority of syllables comprise a pre-nuclear place C unit, either with or without some pre-nuclear prosodic feature. There are eleven C units which together make up a closed system of phonematic units stated for pre-nuclear place. The members of this eleven term system are: *P*, *T*, *K*, *S*, *Š*, *L*, *K*, *N*, *W*, *Đ*, and *Y*. These symbols must not be confused with the symbols *p*, *t*, *k*, *s*, *f*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *w*, *ð*, and *y*. The phonetic exponents of these eleven phonological elements are as follows: *P*, bilabial stop articulation; *T*, dental stop articulation; *K*, velar stop articulation; *S*, alveolar sibilant articulation; *Š*, palatal sibilant articulation; *L*, alveolar lateral articulation; *M*, bilabial nasal articulation; *N*, dental nasal articulation; *W*, bilabial frictionless continuant articulation; *Đ*, alveolar frictionless continuant articulation; *Y*, palatal frictionless continuant articulation.

3324 Post-nuclear place. Some syllables comprise a post-nuclear place in which a C unit is always found, with or without some post-nuclear prosodic feature. There are three C units which together make up a closed system of phonematic units stated for post-nuclear place. The members of this three term system are: *k*, *n*, and *ŋ*. These symbols must not be confused with the symbols of the transcription which are described in section **23**. The phonetic exponents of these three phonological elements are as follows: *k*, velar closure which may or may not be released; *ŋ*, velar nasal closure; *n*, bilabial or dental nasal closure, bilabial when before a syllable with initial *P*, except when *r*-prosody accompanies the syllable in which *n* is in final place, dental elsewhere.

CV and V syllables constitute structures in which the category of post-nuclear place is irrelevant as far as the statement of the phonematic units of the syllable is concerned, though not for the statement of prosodic features of such syllables (**3334**). Examples: *təǩkaˀli* CVC CV CV, (Phonematic Units) TEk KA LI, 'he ran', *pəŋ* CVC, PEŋ, 'fire', *əncək* VC CVC, En TEk, 'hair'.

333 The prosodic features system.

3331 The system in general. Every type of syllable, irrespective of the phonematic structuring of the syllable, may have one or more prosodic features stated either for the whole syllable or for some part of the syllable. Three types of syllable prosody are found; namely, prosodies relevant for the whole syllable, prosodies relevant for pre-nuclear place,

and prosodies relevant for post-nuclear place. These may be set out as follows: Syllable prosodies *a* and *ə*, pre-nuclear prosodies *y*, post-nuclear *ˀ*, *n*, and *r*.

Stress may be regarded as a further prosody of the whole syllable by extension, but since it is also a prosody of the word by implication as it delimits the word, it is a prosody of both word and syllable. For convenience it is described as a word prosody in section **344** rather than as a syllable prosody in this section.

3332 Prosodic features of the whole syllable. Prosodic features of centrality and non-centrality are abstracted from the syllable and stated as prosodies of the whole syllable. These two prosodies are termed the *ə*-prosody and the *a*-prosody respectively.

The phonetic exponent of the *ə*-prosody is a central-to-back quality in the syllable which may be said to have a focal point at syllable nuclear place. All syllables whose V nucleus is *E* are accompanied by the feature of *ə*-prosody. The phonetic exponent of the *a*-prosody is absence of this central-to-back quality in the syllable. The focal point of the *a*-prosody is similarly at syllable nuclear place, and all syllables whose V nucleus is *I*, *A*, or *U* are marked by the *a*-prosody. All syllables of Jebero are assigned to structures containing either an *ə*-prosody or an *a*-prosody.

These prosodic features, though having a focal point at syllable nuclear place, are not treated as nuclear prosodies but as prosodies of the whole syllable because their occurrence has implications for the whole syllable. It is found that all syllables containing the V units *I*, *A*, or *U* as their nucleus comprise one type of syllable which contrasts markedly with syllables containing the V unit *E*. This contrast is seen in marked differences in the phonological elements, both phonematic and prosodic, which are found at post-nuclear place according to whether the syllable nucleus is *I*, *A*, or *U* on the one hand or *E* on the other (**334**).

In certain circumstances it is also found that syllables whose nucleus is *E* have the prosodic feature of glottalization extending throughout the syllable, whereas no such extension is found in syllables whose nucleus is *I*, *A*, or *U* (**3334**). This distinction, then, between the two types of syllable based on the V nucleus may be treated as prosodic in character since it has implications extending throughout the syllable. In the one case the phonetic feature of central-back quality of the V nucleus is the exponent of the prosodic category of *ə*, while in the other instance the absence of this phonetic feature is the exponent of the prosodic category of *a*. The justification for the abstraction of these phonetic features as significant features having prosodic function rather than, for example, the features of

frontness versus backness, or closeness contrasted with openness, is to be found in the resulting simplicity and clarity of statements which can be made to cover certain features of the whole syllable and especially of features at post-nuclear place.

In examples, prosodies are written in raised position; pre-nuclear and post-nuclear place prosodies immediately precede or follow the phonematic symbolization, while syllable prosodies precede any pre-nuclear place prosodies. Examples: *kuða* ᵃCV ᵃCV ᵃKU ᵃDA 'we', *təǩkaʾli* ᵊCVC ᵃCV ᵃCV ᵊTEk ᵃKA ᵃLI.

3333 Pre-nuclear prosodic features. One pre-nuclear prosody is set up, the prosody of palatalization which is symbolized as *y*-prosody. The phonetic exponents of this prosody are the fronting of initial elements in the syllable and the palatalization of certain C units in initial place, namely, *T*, *L*, *Š*, *N*, and *Đ*. When both a *y*-prosody and one of these C units is stated for pre-nuclear place at the phonetic level there is fronting of the V unit of the syllables and palatalization of the C unit as follows: *y* with *T*—closure with blade of tongue and hard palate, released with considerable friction. *y* with *L*—lateral produced with the blade of the tongue in the palatal region. *y* with *Š*—closure with blade of the tongue and hard palate released with considerable friction, cf. *y* with *T*. *y* with *N*—nasality with closure between the blade of the tongue and palatal region. *y* with *Đ*—frictionless continuant with point of narrowing between the blade of the tongue and palatal region. The phonetic exponents of *y*-prosody with *Đ* are, thus, similar to the phonetic exponents of Y. The distinction between *Y* and *Đ* in the system of pre-nuclear phonematic units is neutralized in *y*-prosody syllables. The combination of the *y*-prosody with these C units is symbolized in the transcription by the letters *c*, *ł*, *c*, *ñ*, and *y* (**23**).

The *y*-prosody is found to be relevant only for syllables with a structure at the phonematic level comprising a C unit in pre-nuclear place, i.e. CV and CVC syllables. The *y*-prosody is found most frequently with syllables whose V nucleus is *I*, though not all such syllables are marked by the *y*-prosody, nor is the distribution of the *y*-prosody limited to *I* nucleus syllables. Examples: *ilañi* ᵃV ᵃʸCV ᵃʸCV ᵃI ᵃʸLA ᵃʸNI 'it resounded', *cimiñi* ᵃʸCV ᵃCV ᵃʸCV ᵃʸTI ᵃMI ᵃʸNI 'he died'.

3334 Post-nuclear features. Three post-nuclear prosodic features are set up, glottalization, *r*-quality, and nasalization. These three prosodies are symbolized as: ʾ-prosody, *r*-prosody, and *n*-prosody respectively.

The phonetic exponents of these prosodies are as follows: ʾ-prosody:

(*a*) varying degree of glottalization of the vowel in the syllable, (*b*) complete closure of the glottis after the vowel, (*c*) glottalization extending throughout the whole syllable in the case of syllables with nuclear place *E* and post-nuclear *k* phonematic units.

r-prosody: (*a*) an alveolar flap when the syllable is followed by any V unit, *P*, *K*, *S*, *M*, *W*, *n*, or pause, (*b*) increased centrality and *r*-quality of the vowel.

n-prosody: (*a*) varying degree of nasalization of the vowel in the open syllable, (*b*) either velar closure with nasalization when the syllable is followed by a V unit or by pause, or varying degree of homorganic closure with nasalization when the syllable is followed by an oral C unit, i.e. bilabial closure before *P*, dental or alveolar before *T*, *S*, *L*, *Š*, and velar closure before *K* and *W*.

Post-nuclear prosodies are found to be relevant for any type of syllable irrespective of the phonematic structure, including syllables not comprising a C unit in final place, i.e. CV and V syllables. The ˀ-prosody is stated for syllables comprising the *a*-prosody and also for syllables comprising the *ə*-prosody only conjointly with the *r*-prosody or with *k* in final place. The *r*-prosody is stated only for syllables having the *ə*-prosody. The *n*-prosody is stated for syllables having the *a*-prosody and for syllables with the *ə*-prosody only conjointly with *r*-prosody and ˀ-prosody, and then always at the junction of morphemes within the word (cf. **3433**). Examples: *kəŕ* ˢCVˀʳ ˢKEˀʳ 'manioc', *uˀlaŋ* ᵃVˀ CVⁿ ᵃUˀ ᵃLAⁿ [uˀlaŋ] 'rain', *pəŋ* ˢCVC ˢPEŋ [pəŋ] 'fire'.

334 Post-nuclear elements of the syllable. The phonological elements already described as relevant for the statement of post-nuclear place are limited in their occurrence relative to one another. These restrictions can most clearly be stated in terms of the allocation of all syllables to two groups determined by the presence of *a*- or *ə*-prosody.

3341 Post nuclear elements in *a*-prosody syllables. Syllables marked by the *a*-prosody may or may not comprise a C unit in the post-nuclear place. Syllables comprising a C unit in post-nuclear place are termed closed syllables and those without such a C unit are termed open syllables.

Open syllables with *a*-prosody may also comprise either ˀ-prosody or *n*-prosody, or both ˀ and *n*-prosodies. This last structure is found only at junctions of morphemes within the word (**34333**).

Closed syllables with *a*-prosody may comprise C units *k* and *ŋ*. The ˀ-prosody is found with closed syllables with *k* as final C unit. No other prosodic features are found to mark post-nuclear place in syllables of this

type. In the material examined there are, in fact, very few closed syllables with *a*-prosody and almost all of these are within verb forms. The C unit *ŋ* in *a*-prosody syllables is entirely limited to a group of verb suffixes. A more extensive treatment of Jebero phonology would find definite advantages in separate treatment of the phonological structure of the nominal and of the verb. Examples: *uˀlaŋ* ᵃV^{ˀ} (open with ˀ-prosody) ᵃCV^{n} (open with *n*-prosody) 'rain', *ilaˀnsuˀ* ᵃV (open without prosody) ᵃCV^{ˀn} (open with *n* and ˀ-prosodies) ᵃCV^{ˀ} (open with ˀ-prosody) 'that which is shot', *ilampasik* ᵃV (open without prosody) ᵃʸCV^{n} (open with *n*-prosody) ᵃCV (open without prosody) ᵃCVC (closed with *k* without prosody) 'when he is making a noise'.

3342 Post-nuclear elements in *ə*-prosody syllables. Open syllables with *ə*-prosody are only found when at least one post-nuclear prosody is found. Such syllables are found with *r*-, ˀ-, and *n*-prosodies conjointly at the junction between morphemes within the word. This last type of syllable is limited to certain verbal forms only (**34333**).

Closed syllables with *ə*-prosody may comprise C units *k*, *ŋ*, or *n*. Closed syllables may also have ˀ-prosody with *k* as final C unit, and *r*-prosody with *n* as final C unit. Examples: *itəḱ* ᵃV ᵊCVC^{ˀ} (closed by *k* with ˀ-prosody) 'root', *pəŋ* ᵊCVC (closed without prosody) 'fire', *kəŕ* ᵊCV^{ˀr} (open with ˀ- and *r*-prosodies), 'manioc'.

335 The complex syllable. The details given in the immediately preceding sections apply to the vast majority of syllables in the material examined, but some syllables are found which are not referable to such structures; these are termed complex syllables. In all instances complex syllables occur at morpheme junction points in the structure of the words concerned (**3433**).

Complex syllables are referable to structures described in terms of the same phonematic and prosodic elements already described for simple syllables. All the features which characterize both the simple syllable as a whole, and pre-nuclear, nuclear, and post-nuclear place are found in exactly the same way to be applicable to complex syllables, except that two V units may be assigned to syllable nuclear place. These two V units function as a rising diphthong with prominence on the second V unit.

Complex syllables are found only at points corresponding to morpheme boundaries, never within the morpheme. Thus they have prosodic function as markers of morpheme boundaries (**3433**). Examples: *asuiˀñi* (*asun- iˀñi*) ᵃV ᵃCVVˀ ᵃʸCV 'he did not tie', *əncuinləcək* (*əncun- -iləcək*) ᵊVC ᵃʸCVV^{n} ᵊCV ᵊʸCVC 'I will go and cut'.

336 Extra-systemic syllable patterns. This outline of phonology cannot attempt to state exhaustively all the syllable patterns, but the main system described above does, in fact, account for the vast majority of words. However, two extra-systemic patterns which occur rather more than other patterns may be stated.

3361 Syllables marked by the prosodic feature of labialization. A few syllables, whose phonematic units are referable to structures already described, comprise prosodic features which are also referable to structures described except that a prosodic feature of labialization is found in pre-nuclear place. The feature is treated as prosodic because it extends over the whole syllable. This prosodic feature is termed the *w*-prosody. The phonetic exponent of *w*-prosody is labialization of the syllable, with particular labialization of the phonetic exponent of the initial C unit of the syllable concerned.

Inasmuch as words assigned to this phonological structure are, apart from the presence of this *w*-prosody, entirely referable to the structures already described, it would be possible to treat the *w*-prosody as an element of the main phonological system, comparable with the *y*-prosody. This has not, in fact, been done because of the comparative infrequency of the structure in the material examined. Examples: *kwa* ^{w}CV 'I', *təkkwaʾli* ^{ʔ}CVC^{ʔ} ^{w}CV^{ʔ} ^{y}CV 'he fears', *pwiñu* ^{w}CV ^{y}CV 'water pot', *kwəʾla* ^{w}CV^{ʔr} ^{y}CV 'you are heavy'.

3362 Syllables with final *Y*. Some syllables are found to be referable to a phonematic structure VC or CVC in which the phonematic unit in post-nuclear place is *Y*. At the phonetic level there is considerable diphthongization between the preceding vowel and final consonant. The phonematic unit *Y* occurs only in post-nuclear place in these extra-systemic syllables. Alternatively it would be possible to analyse these syllables as referable to a structure comprising two V units and to state that marked prominence is found on the first V unit. Examples: *way* ^{ʔ}CVC 'far off', *uʾay* ^{a}V^{ʔ} ^{a}CVC 'large', *aytək* ^{a}VC ^{ʔ}CVC 'jungle bird' cf. Quechua *aytek*; *supay* ^{a}CV ^{a}CVC 'demon' cf. Quechua *supay*.

337 Assimilated loan words. A few examples of assimilated or partially assimilated loan words are given as these illustrate rather well the phonological structure already described. Each word is given in the Jebero transcription followed by the corresponding Spanish word in parentheses. *añimər* (ANIMAL) 'animal', *cinta* (TIENDA) 'shop', *kampanaʾ* (CAMPANA) 'bell', *mərkaðu* (MERCADO) 'market', *misaʾ* (MISA) 'table', *pan* (PAN)

'bread', *səñula²* (SEÑORA) 'lady', *simana²* (SEMANA) 'week', *sumpəlu* (SOMBRERO) 'hat'.

34 The word.

341 General. As stated in section **32**, the word has status as both a phonological and a grammatical unit, cf. **621**. At the phonological level the structure of the word is described in terms of syllables and prosodic features. The following sections describe the syllable structure of the word, the prosodic features of syllable junction and stress, and the prosodic feature of palatalization associated with the non-verbal suffix *-fa*.

342 Syllabic structure of the word.

3421 General. The word may comprise from one to ten syllables. In discussion, examples of words comprising up to fifteen syllables were given by one informant. But it seems clear that forms of more than ten syllables are outside normal speech. Words of ten syllables are restricted to verb forms. One example of a nominal with nine syllables has been found, and several nominals with eight syllables. Most commonly verbs contain four syllables and nominals three syllables. Verbs of two, three, five, and six syllables are commonly found, as are nominals of two, four, and five syllables. Adverbs seldom exceed four syllables and particles rarely comprise more than three syllables.

Of the more than thirty syllable structures possible with the phonological elements described in section **33**, fourteen syllable structures are found not uncommonly in the material examined, though some of these occur very much more frequently than others. The remainder are very severely restricted in their occurrences. These fourteen syllable patterns are as follows: ᵃCV ᵃʸCV ᵃCV² ᵃʸCV² ᵃCVⁿ ᵃʸCVⁿ ᵊCVʳ ᵊCVʳ² ᵊCVC ᵊCVC² ᵃV ᵃV² ᵃVⁿ ᵊVC.

In principle, words may comprise any of these syllable structures in any combination except for certain restrictions stated below. Actually many combinations are not found, for the language does not exhaust all these possibilities. This fact may be emphasized by the statement that over 75 per cent of syllables are referable to only six patterns and that within this group of six, three patterns account for the great majority of syllables. These three patterns are: ᵃCV ᵃCVⁿ ᵃCV².

Certain restrictions on the distribution of syllables within the word are found as follows: (*a*) All syllables whose phonematic structure is referable to the patterns V and VC are restricted to morpheme initial position within the word. (*b*) All syllables of the roots of words of any class which include an *r*-prosody are final in that root, with the exception of the following:

wəraŋ 'food' and *wəran-* 'take food', *-pəriˀ-* 'pin down' (e.g. *liˀpəriˀli* 'he struck and pinned down'), *məru-* 'be soft', *təraˀ-* 'plant', *utəri* 'sister of a man'.

3422 Syllable structure and grammatical categories. The forms of certain grammatical categories are found to be restricted to certain syllable structures. Thus the occurrence of certain syllable structures marks the grammatical status of the word concerned. Words containing stems comprising a single syllable of the structure V or VC are always found to be verbs. Adverb stems are never monosyllabic; there is only one particle stem of one syllable and this of ^{ay}CV structure. Monosyllabic nominal stems are always CV or CVC in structure. Monosyllabic words are almost always nominals. However, verbs comprising a stem of structure CV can be monosyllabic when suffixed by *-aŋ*.

Verb suffixes frequently contain an initial syllable of V structure. Non-verbal suffixes never have such an initial syllable (with one exception) but always contain an initial CV or CVC syllable. Word suffixes also frequently contain an initial syllable of V structure.

343 Prosodic features of syllable junction. The phonological features relevant for the statement of syllable junction are treated as prosodic because they have implications for the whole word, not just for one place in any one syllable. Furthermore, these features mark the boundaries of grammatical elements and in some instances also mark the grammatical status of the elements, i.e. whether bound or free forms.

3431 The four types of syllable junction. Four different types of syllable junction are distinguished: type one—intra-morpheme junction, i.e. junction within the morpheme; type two—intermorpheme junction when neither morpheme is a free form, i.e. junction between syllables of different morphemes when neither morpheme has the grammatical status of word (**62**); type three—intermorpheme junction when one morpheme is a free form, i.e. junction between syllables of different morphemes when one morpheme has the grammatical status of word; type four—interword junction, i.e. junction between syllables of different words. These four types will be symbolized as J1, J2, J3, and J4.

In the following sections the statement of these different types of junction is arranged in semi-tabular form according to the phonological features, whether phonematic or prosodic, which are relevant to both the final syllable of the first morpheme and the initial syllable of the second

34324 V^{r} with C. All J2 of this structure are marked by a Y-junction prosody (symbolized Y). The chief phonetic exponent of this prosody is the palatalization of the phonetic exponent of the initial C of the second syllable. A further phonetic exponent is sometimes found, namely, the extension of this *Y* feature throughout the final syllable of the first word, the V unit being very much closer and further front and the initial C unit also sometimes being palatalized.

All J3 of this structure are also marked by a *Y*-junction prosody whose phonetic exponent is the palatalization of the phonetic exponent of the initial C of the second syllable. No examples have been found of the phonetic exponent of this prosody extending throughout the first syllable in J3 as is sometimes the case for J2 as described above.

The great majority of examples of J4 of this structure are not marked by any phonological feature besides features stated in section **3334**; i.e. the phonetic exponent of *r*-prosody before pause is an alveolar flap. However, in very rapid speech very occasional examples of J4 have been found with a *Y*-junction prosody having the phonetic exponent of slight palatalization of the initial C of the following word. Examples: J2 *wañiyəkli* ^{a}CV ^{ə}CV$^{r\ Y}$ ^{ə}CVC$^{ʔa y}$CV (*wanər- ðək- -li*, ^{a}CV ^{ə}CV^{r} ^{ə}CVC$^{ʔa y}$CV) 'he stood in the water', J3 *kuʔwapəñəŋ* ^{a}CV^{ʔ} ^{a}CV ^{ə}CV$^{r\ Y}$ ^{a}CVC 'his wife', J3 *cipəca* $^{a y}$CV ^{ə}CV$^{r\ Y}$ ^{a}CV 'little mosquito net'.

34325 $V^{r ʔ}$ with C. The statements made for J2, J3, and J4 in the preceding section **34324** are relevant with the following additional statement. All junctions of this structure are also marked by complete closure of the glottis immediately after the V and before the initial C of the second syllable. In the case of J4 this glottal closure is simultaneous with the alveolar flap. Examples: J2 *məʔcapali* ^{ə}CV$^{ʔr\ Y}$ ^{a}CV ^{a}CV $^{a y}$CV 'it is ripening', J3 *kəʔca* ^{ə}CV$^{ʔr\ Y}$ ^{a}CV 'a little manioc'.

3433 Junction of V with V. Each of the following sections will involve the junction of an open syllable with a syllable with an initial V unit. However, each section will involve a different prosodic feature relevant for one or other of the two syllables. For all the structures of this type there are no examples of J1.

34331 V with V. The junction of two syllables of this structure in the case of J2, J3, and J4 may be realised as a single simple syllable, a single complex syllable, or a sequence of two simple syllables.

When realised as a single syllable there is one V unit which varies according to the particular V in both the first and second syllable. Of the

two V units, whichever is the closer, or, if both V units are equivalent in closeness, whichever is further front, functions as V unit in these junctions. Wherever the junction of V with V is a junction of two like V units, the junction is realised as a single V unit of the same quality.

When it is realised as a complex syllable there are two V units (**335**). In such complex syllables prominence to a greater or lesser extent is on the second V unit, and the sequence can be described in phonetic terms as a rising diphthong. The junction of U or A followed by I is more frequently realised with a strongly prominent second V than are other sequences, so much so that in a complex syllable involving U followed by I, the phonetic exponent of U appears to have some of the characteristics of the phonetic exponent of W, a C unit.

When the junction is realised as a sequence of two separate syllables there is a varying degree of diphthongal transition between the two syllables.

The majority of examples of J2 of this structure are realised as a single syllable as described above. However, some examples of J2 are found as a complex syllable. A much smaller number of examples of J2 as a sequence of two syllables also occur. These are found only when the first syllable of the junction is also the initial syllable of the word that also contains the second syllable of the junction. This seems to serve as a feature separating the two syllables.

The majority of examples of J3 of this structure are found to be simple syllables, though examples of complex syllables are not uncommon. No examples of J3 as a sequence of two syllables have been found. The great majority of examples of J4 of this structure are found to be sequences of two syllables, though examples of complex syllables are not uncommon. In rapid speech instances of J4 as a simple syllable are also found occasionally. Such instances are limited and they only occur when stress marks a post-initial syllable of the second word.

These statements apply for all junctions involving an open syllable unmarked by any final prosodic feature, followed by a syllable with an initial V unit, irrespective of any other phonological feature of that second syllable. For example, V and V^n may be realised as a simple syllable, a complex syllable, or a sequence of two syllables. In all cases after the V unit of the simple syllable or the second V unit of the complex or two syllable sequence, there is nasal closure as described in section **3334**. In all these cases the prosodic feature will be stated for the single simple or complex syllable, or for the second syllable of the two syllable sequence. Examples: J2 *milaləkᵃCV ᵃCV ᵊCVC* (*ma- ʸila- -ləkᵃCV ᵃV ᵃCV ᵊCVC*) 'I went and gathered', J3 *nalaimaᵃCV ᵃCVV ᵃCV* (*nala- -imaᵃCV ᵃCV*

ᵃV ᵃCV) 'tree', J3 *kəŋmiˀna* ᵊCVC ᵃCVˀ ᵃCV (kəŋma- -iˀna ᵊCVC ᵃCVᵃVˀ ᵃCV) 'but you'.

34332 Vˀ with V. The statements made for J2, J3, and J4 in the preceding section **34331** are relevant here too, and the following additional statements are required. All junctions of this structure that are realised as simple or complex syllables are also marked by complete closure of the glottis immediately after the V unit(s) and before the next C unit or pause. All junctions of this structure that are realised as a sequence of two syllables are also marked by complete closure of the glottis between the two V units.

These statements apply for all junctions involving an open syllable with final ˀ-prosody followed by a syllable with initial V unit irrespective of any other phonological features of that syllable. However, certain additional statements need to be made as follows.

Vˀ with Vˀ. The statements already made for J3 and J4 in this section are relevant for J3 and J4 of this structure. Generally, examples of J2 are realised as a complex syllable with glottalization to a varying degree throughout the syllable and complete closure of the glottis, as already described. When the V units of J2 of this structure are like V units the resulting complex syllable is equivalent to a long V with considerable glottalization throughout with complete closure of the glottis after the V units, and a secondary peak of glottalization sometimes occurring in the middle of the V unit.

Vˀ with Vʳˀ and Vˀ with Vʳ. In junctions of this structure the closure of the glottis is simultaneous with the alveolar flap or precedes the next C when the *r*-prosody is realised without an alveolar flap (**3334**).

Vˀ with Vⁿ. In junctions of this structure the closure of the glottis precedes the nasal closure, which is homorganic with the next C. Examples: J2 *təḱ*kaiˀm*puˀli* ᵊCVCˀ ᵃCVCⁿˀ ᵃCVˀ ᵃʸCV (*təḱka*ˀ- *-impu*ˀ- *-li* ᵊCVCˀ ᵃCVˀ ᵃVⁿ ᵃCVˀ ᵃʸCV) 'He did not run', J2 *əkpɔ́kasuˀ* ᵊVC ᵊCVˀʳ ᵃCV ᵃCV (*əkpa*ˀ- *-ə́kasuˀ* ᵊVC ᵃCVˀ ᵊVˀʳ ᵃCV ᵃCVˀ) 'That which they carried', J3 *asiˀna* ᵃV ᵃCVˀ ᵃCV (*asu*ˀ- *-iˀna* ᵃV ᵃCVˀ ᵃVˀ ᵃCV) 'but this one'.

34333 Vⁿ with V. The statements made for J2, J3, and J4 in the section **34331** are relevant, with the following additional statements. All junctions of this structure which are found as simple or complex syllables are also marked by complete closure, with nasalization homorganic with the first C unit of the second morpheme. When that C unit is a nasal or when no C unit follows there is strong nasalization of the V unit(s) but no closure. All junctions of this structure which are found as a sequence of two syllables are also marked by velar closure with nasalization between the two V units.

These statements apply for all junctions involving an open syllable with final *n*-prosody followed by a syllable with initial V unit irrespective of any other phonological features of that syllable, except that certain additional statements are made for the following structures.

V^n with $V^ʔ$. In junctions of this structure, closure of the glottis precedes the nasal closure, which is homorganic with the next C. Thus this junction is realised in the same way as the junction $V^ʔ$ and V^n (**34332**).

V^n with $V^{ʔr}$ and V^n with V^r. In junctions of this structure the nasal closure, which is homorganic with the following C, follows the alveolar flap and closure of the glottis, which are simultaneous. Examples: J2 *a*sump*ali* ᵃV ᵃCVⁿ ᵃCV ᵃʸCV (*asun- -apa- -li* ᵃV ᵃCVⁿ ᵃV ᵃCV ᵃʸCV) 'he is fastening', J2 *ilə*ɾ*ŋkasuʔ* ᵃV ᵊCVʔʳⁿ ᵃCV ᵃCVʔ (*ilan- -əɾkasuʔ* ᵃV ᵃCVⁿ ᵊVʔʳ ᵃCV ᵃCVʔ) 'that which they shot', J3 *uʔl*aim*a* ᵃVʔ ᵃCVVⁿ ᵃCV (*uʔlaŋ- -ima* ᵃVʔ ᵃCVⁿ ᵃV ᵃCV) [uʔlãĩma] 'and rain'.

34334 V^r with V. No special junction features are found, e.g. J2 *lupərəcu* ᵃCV ᵊCVʳ ᵊVʳ ᵃʸCV 'you will be drunk'.

34335 $V^{ʔr}$ with V. No special junction features are found, e.g. J3 *ikə*ɾ*ima* ᵃV ᵊCVʔʳ ᵃV ᵃCV 'pain'.

3434 Junction of C with V. This section will state all the phonological features which apply to the junction of closed syllables with syllables with initial V unit. No prosodic features, whether relevant for the first or the second of the two syllables involved in the junction, are found to affect the statement of this type of junction.

There are no examples of J1 of this structure. With all J2, J3, and an occasional J4 of this structure it is noticeable that the phonological syllable does not coincide with the phonetic syllable. At the phonetic level the final consonant of the first syllable functions as the initial consonant of the second syllable. The resulting syllabification is not congruent with the phonological syllable structure, which states the consonant in question as the phonetic exponent of a C unit in final place in the first syllable. This treatment avoids adding to the number of phonematic units that occur in pre-nuclear place, when such additions would obscure the main phonological structure. Examples: J2 *pilə*ŋ*apala* ᵃCV ᵊCVC ᵃV ᵃCV ᵃCV (*pilə*ŋ*- -apa- -la*) 'you are advising', J3 *pidə*ƙ*ima* ᵃCV ᵊCVCʔ ᵃV ᵃCV (*pidə*ƙ*- -ima*) 'the house also', J4 *uwək ilañi* ᵃV ᵊCVʔC ᵃVᵃ CVᵃʸCV 'he shot a jungle hen'.

3435 Junction of C with C. This type of junction concerns closed syllables when followed by syllables with initial C unit.

There are frequent examples of J1, J2, J3, and J4 of this structure. With J1, J2, and J3, whenever the C unit of the first syllable is *-ŋ* or *-n* a prosodic feature of voicing is found. The phonetic exponent of this prosody is voicing of the second C unit unless that C unit is a sibilant. This prosodic feature is termed V-prosody (symbolized V), cf. **34323**. Very occasionally in rapid speech J4 is marked in the same way. Whenever the two C units are alike there is gemination. At the phonetic level the lengthening of the C unit may vary considerably. Examples: J1 *əŋkaˀla* ᵊVC ᵛ ᵃCVˀ ᵃCV [əŋgɐːˀla] 'you gave', J2 *waˀtəŋkəɾ́* ᵃCVˀ ᵊCVC ᵛ ᵊCVˀᵣ [waˀtəŋgəɾ́] 'wait!', J3 *pəŋkək* ᵊCVC ᵛ ᵊCVC [pəŋgək] 'in the fire', J4 *pəŋ kanañi* ᵃCVC ᵛ ᵃCVᵃCVᵃʸCV [pəŋ ganañi] 'he found the fire'.

344 The prosodic feature of stress.

3441 General. Stress is treated as a prosodic feature because its phonetic exponents extend over more than one phonematic place, and because the feature itself has implications for the whole word, not just for any one place in any one syllable; i.e. the feature marks out the form as a word, and not just part of a word.

The prosodic feature of stress must not be confused with phonetic stress which is termed prominence in this treatment. The prosodic feature of stress involves other phonetic features besides prominence, and in particular length and pitch. The exponents of the prosodic feature of stress may extend over more than one syllable but are always focussed on one syllable, which is consequently termed the stressed syllable.

Three types of stress are distinguished, word stress, word suffix stress, and emphatic stress. Since certain phonetic exponents are common to all three types of stress, these will be described first and not repeated in the detailed description of the three types of stress.

In the examples given in this section stress is symbolized by ˈ before the stressed syllable, e.g. *ˈpiðək* is stressed on the first syllable and the structural symbolization of this word uses the same device, i.e. ˈᵃCV ᵊCVCˀ.

3442 Phonetic exponents of stress. Three phonetic features are exponents of all three types of stress; namely, the features of prominence, length, and pitch.

Prominence. All stressed syllables are articulated with greater loudness and force of utterance in comparison with other syllables of the word.

Length. All stressed syllables tend to be longer in duration than comparable unstressed syllables in the word. At the phonetic level the exponent of the V unit of the syllable is longer in duration in stressed syllables, though other parts of the syllable may also be longer in duration than

comparable parts in unstressed syllables. Length is a particularly important exponent of emphatic stress, cf. **3445**.

Pitch. When the word is spoken in isolation the stressed syllable is higher in pitch than unstressed syllables in the word.

3433 Word stress. All words except compound words contain one stressed syllable. Compound words are set up partly on grammatical grounds and partly on the basis of this feature of stress, cf. **624**.

Except for instances described later in this section and in sections **3444** and **3445**, the stressed syllable of any simple word is always as follows: (*a*) for monosyllabic words the stressed syllable is always the one and only syllable, (*b*) for disyllabic words the stressed syllable is always the first syllable, (*c*) for words of three or more syllables the stressed syllable is always the second syllable.

The stressed syllables of compound words are the initial syllable of each reduplicated root and the second syllable of the post-root elements, unless those elements comprise fewer than three syllables, in which case the first syllable of the post-root elements is stressed, cf. **624**.

The phonetic exponents of stress of this type are the features of prominence, length, and pitch as described in the preceding section. Two types of word stress which fall outside the patterns described so far in this section are as follows: (*a*) any disyllabic verb form comprising a monosyllabic stem and the inflectional suffix *-aŋ* (**7432**) is stressed on the second syllable, e.g. *li*ˀˡ*aŋ* 'seeing', *wər*ˡ*aŋ* 'stinging'; (*b*) any nominal comprising a disyllabic stem and the non-verbal suffix *-k*, which is one form of the suffix *-kək* (**832**), is stressed on the second syllable, e.g. *ta*ˡ*nak* 'in the jungle', *pi*ˡ*ðiǩ* 'in the house'.

3444 Word suffix stress. In all words containing the word suffixes listed below, the stressed syllable is the penultimate syllable of the resultant word. The word suffixes involved in this type of stress pattern are: *-a*ˀ*ca*, *-a*ˀ*ta*ˀ, *-ci*, *-təŋ*, *-untana*. These word suffixes are all of orders 7 and 8 of the class of word suffixes (**672**).

The phonetic exponents of stress of this type are similar to those of the word stress, namely prominence, length, and pitch features which mark the stressed syllable in the manner described in section **3442**. Examples: *asumpa*ˡ*la*ˀ*nca* ᵃV ᵃCVⁿ ᵃCV ᵃCVˀ ᴺ ᵃʸCV 'have you tied up', *ipi*ˀˡ*maci* ᵃV ᵃCVˀ ˈᵃCV ᵃʸCV 'now indeed'.

3445 Emphatic stress. Emphatic stress is distinguished from word stress by the following features: (*a*) The stressed syllable may be any

syllable of the word. Emphatic stress may fall on the same syllable as word stress or on some other syllable, in which case the syllable which would otherwise have been stressed is not marked by the feature of stress. However, though emphatic stress may mark any syllable of the word certain preferred patterns for this feature are noticeable. For example, in verb forms containing the extensor *-apa-* emphatic stress almost always falls upon the syllable of which the initial V of the extensor is the nucleus. (*b*) In emphatic stress the feature of length is extended so as to include the consonant that is the exponent of either the C unit which closes the stressed syllable or, when the stressed syllable is an open syllable, the initial C unit of the next syllable. At the phonetic level the length of the V unit of the stressed syllable and the C unit described above is very much greater than the length of the V unit of the stressed syllable of other stress types. (*c*) The other phonetic exponents of stress are sometimes heightened in the case of emphatic stress; i.e. the pitch of the stressed syllable is sometimes greater than is normal for the pitch of stressed syllables, and the force of articulation of the stressed syllable of emphatic stress is also sometimes noticeably greater. Emphatic stress is symbolized by ˈˈ. Examples: *namˈˈpipala* [namˈˈbi:p·ala] 'you are living', *iˈˈkinək* [iˈˈki·n:ək] 'the middle'.

345 Palatalization associated with the suffix *-ʃa*. One further prosodic feature of the word is associated with the suffix *-ʃa* 'diminutive, affectionative' (**832**). All such words may be marked by the prosodic feature of palatalization. The phonetic exponent of this prosody is palatalization of the phonetic exponents of C units which precede the suffix in the word concerned. The feature may extend through none, some, or all the syllables preceding *-ʃa*. The degree to which this feature extends in any word seems to vary from speaker to speaker and from one occasion to another. Examples: *naluʃa* (*nalu -ʃa*) 'a little new object', *ñañaʃa* (*nana -ʃa*) 'that little one', *ʃawəlacəkʃanəŋima* (*sawəlatəkʲ -ʃa -nəŋ -ima*) 'his small machete'.

35 Intonation. Every Jebero sentence is marked by a pitch pattern. In order to make systematic statements of these patterns, five simple and five complex 'tunes' are abstracted from the phonic material and set up as the units of phonological description of sentence intonation in Jebero. In this abridgement the description of these tunes is omitted.

Chapter Four: The verbal piece in the sentence

41 General. The verbal piece is a grammatical unit abstracted from the phonic material and set up as a convenient unit by means of which part of the grammatical structure of the Jebero language may be stated. The function of the verbal piece is described in terms of its distribution within the Jebero sentence and of its relation to other pieces in the sentence. It is, therefore, necessary to outline the structure of Jebero sentences so that the function of the verbal piece can be seen and compared with the function of other pieces and categories set up to state Jebero syntactical structure.

42 Definition of the sentence. The sentence in Jebero may be defined both in grammatical and phonological terms. Phonologically, there is potentiality of silence before and after the sentence. In addition there is a prosodic marker accompanying every Jebero sentence. A limited number of pitch patterns occur; since every sentence is characterized by one or other of these pitch patterns, they may be said to mark out the sentence as a linguistic unit.

The sentence is the largest piece for which systematic statements of grammatical structure and relations are made. This is not meant to imply that it is not possible to set up grammatical features which extend across sentence boundaries, but merely that such features are outside the scope of this study, which is restricted to a particular grammatical unit, the verbal piece. In fact, an examination of the texts given in chapter 11 will reveal that some very interesting statements of features across sentence boundaries may be made. For instance, in a group of sentences of narrative style the first word of each sentence, or the head of the first phrase, is found suffixed by the word suffix *-ima* 'connective' unless that sentence either begins with an included clause, or is followed by a sentence containing a verb of class O, in which case the verb of class O is suffixed by *-ima*. Occasionally reference is made to such features, but no category is established on the basis of these inter-sentence features, and no systematic statement of them is attempted.

In this study, then, the sentence is taken as the largest unit under examination and its internal structure and relations constitute the highest level of grammatical analysis.

43 Sentence-types and classes of sentence. All sentences are referred to

one of a limited number of syntactic patterns, which are termed sentence-types. The terms sentence and sentence-types should not be confused. The phonic material is analysed into a number of sentences from which the sentence-types are abstracted. Thus, while sentences are spoken, sentence-types are not. Certain sentence-types are found to occur much more frequently than others. These are termed favourite sentence-types. Sentences exhibiting the patterns of favourite sentence-types are termed favourite sentences in contrast to non-favourite sentences which exhibit the patterns of other sentence-types. The use of these terms, favourite and non-favourite, is not meant to imply any kind of prior or pre-eminent status to any sentence, but merely to draw attention to the fact that the great majority of Jebero sentences of this style may be analysed as having the syntactic structuring of a very few sentence-types.

44 Favourite sentences. The favourite sentences of Jebero exhibit two syntactic patterns and may be divided on this basis into two groups of sentences. These two syntactic patterns are set up as two classes of sentence-type: Class I—the verbal piece sentence-type, Class II—the verbal piece and nominal piece sentence-type.

A large proportion of favourite sentences are referable to the class I sentence-type, the verbal piece sentence-type. In addition, all favourite sentences may be stated to comprise a structure which always includes a verbal piece, with or without another element. It can be seen, then, that the verbal piece may be regarded as the feature which above all other features characterizes the favourite sentence. Indeed the contrast between favourite and non-favourite sentences in Jebero may be stated to be the contrast between sentences referable to structures including a verbal piece on the one hand and sentences referable to structures not including a verbal piece on the other. Consequently, an understanding of the function and structure of the verbal piece is of central importance in any study of the Jebero language.

441 Class I. The verbal piece sentence-types. The verbal piece sentence-type comprises one verbal piece, with or without a vocative piece. The internal grammatical structuring of the verbal piece sentence-type shows the same range of possibilities as the verbal piece alone, except that a vocative piece may also be found. See Chapter V for a detailed description of the internal structure of the verbal piece, and sections **573** and **46** for a description of the vocative piece. In its minimum form the verbal piece sentence-type comprises a single word only, a verb, but in this class of sentence-type the minimum form is only rarely found, and the vast

majority of verbal piece sentence-types comprise a number of words. Examples: *ñapalaʔnca, ʃayaʔ*. STI—VP and Voc 'Are you there, lady?' *nanima mapaʔtulinaʔ*. STI—VP 'They bought that'. *nuʔaŋima, ðuŋkaɾa-paŋiʔla,—ipaʔ nampəkwatapilalima ipaʔ kaðunak*. STI—VP 'Then, still looking, he is climbing up the wacrapona tree'. IR.[1]

442 Class II. The verbal piece and nominal piece sentence-type.

4421 General. This sentence-type comprises a verbal piece and one or more nominal pieces, with or without a vocative piece. The internal grammatical structuring of this sentence-type shows the same range of possibilities as the structuring of any verbal piece and any nominal piece, except that a vocative piece may also occur. Thus, in its minimum form, this sentence-type comprises two words, a verb and a nominal. However, the great majority of sentences which are referable to this sentence-type comprise a much larger number of words. The various possibilities for the structuring of the verbal piece are given in sections **51–56**, for the nominal piece in section **572**, and for the vocative piece in sections **573** and **46**.

4422 Concord of verbal piece and nominal piece. The verb(s) which function as the head of the verbal piece and the nominal(s) which function as the head of the nominal piece exhibit agreement of person and number. In contrast any other nominal in the sentence does not exhibit any concordial relation with the verb(s).

4423 Suffixation by *-lər*. The nominal which functions as the head of the nominal piece in this type of sentence has the potentiality of suffixation by the non-verbal suffix *-lər* 'subject indicator'. This potentiality is significant as it distinguishes the nominal(s) which function(s) as the head of the nominal piece from all other nominals in the sentence.

4424 Formal basis for the category of subject. The category of subject is formally based, in that the subject may be defined as that nominal in sentence-type Class II which (*a*) exhibits agreement of number and person with the verb, and (*b*) has the potentiality of suffixation by *-lər*.

4425 The order of verbal piece and nominal piece in this sentence-type. The order of nominal piece and verbal piece in this sentence-type is not fixed. The whole verbal piece may precede or follow the whole nominal

[1] Whenever examples are taken from the text in Chapter 11 a reference to the text number and sentence letter is given, e.g. IA refers to Text I, sentence A.

piece, or part of the verbal piece may precede and part follow the nominal piece. Generally the nominal piece is not discontinuous in this way but is found as a unit at some point of the structure; cf. **572.**

Though there is no fixed order in sentences of class II sentence-type, certain preferred patterns can be seen in such sentences. The more constant patterns are these: (*a*) In a group of sentences of narrative style in the first sentence of the group the nominal piece almost always precedes the verb which functions as the head of the verbal piece, and frequently precedes the whole verbal piece, standing in initial position in the sentence. (*b*) When the verbal piece comprises an included clause (**5523**) the nominal piece frequently follows the whole verbal piece, and almost always follows the verb of class O with which the included clause is associated. (*c*) When the verbal piece contains other clauses, themselves preceding the verb which functions as the centre of the verbal piece, the nominal piece almost always follows these clauses, except under the circumstances already described in (*a*) above. Examples: *kwanta*ʔ¹ *ipa*ʔ² *nawənca*ʔ*la*ʔ*ləkᵏ*³ STII—VP (2, 3) NP (1) 'I also have just come'. *nanəklima*¹ *nu*ʔ*wənca*ʔ*ŋima*² *inðəkaɲima*³ *ipa*ʔ*linci*⁴ *wənca*ʔ*li*⁵ *wila*⁶ STII—VP (1–5) NP (6) 'Then having climbed down and jumped now the boy came'. IZ.

443 A cross-classification of favourite sentences. Favourite sentences may be classified in another way. The categories of command, question, and statement sentence-types may be set up, each with its own syntactic structuring, and every favourite sentence may be referred to one or other of these categories. This classification is a cross-classification, not a further sub-dividing of the two classes already set up. There are, thus, two sets of classes of sentence-type, each set overlapping with the other, and every favourite sentence belongs to two different classes of sentence-type, one from each set.

4431 Class X. Any sentence-type of class I or II which includes a verb functioning as the head of the verbal piece which is inflected by a suffix of paradigm 11 or 12 (**743**) is a member of class X, command sentence-type, except when that verb is part of an included clause.

4432 Class Y. Any sentence-type of class I or II which includes either (*a*) a word containing the word suffix *-a*ʔ*ca* 'question indicator' (**672**), except when that word is part of an included clause, or (*b*) an interrogative adjective or adverb (**6645** and **665**), except when part of an included clause, is a member of class Y, question sentence-type.

4433 Class Z. Any sentence-type of classes I or II which is not also a member of either class X or class Y, is a member of class Z, statement sentence-type.

It is found that these three sentence-types are marked by different pitch patterns. This combination of grammatical and phonological features provides the justification for the establishment of this further set of classes of sentence-type. Examples: *maʾnəŋ supaypaʾ kananək* STI and Y 'Whatever demon did I find?' IF. *kwalər siwəʾcəcək* STII and Z 'I will take it'.

444 Another treatment of the favourite sentence. Instead of setting up two sentence-types and refering all Jebero favourite sentences to one or other of them, as has been done in sections **441** and **442**, it is possible to analyse favourite sentences by setting up only one sentence-type or by setting up a larger number of sentence-types than these two. These different possibilities are outlined and discussed in Appendix I, Alternative treatment of Jebero favourite sentences.

45 Non-favourite sentences. All sentences which do not exhibit the patterns of favourite sentence-types are termed non-favourite sentences. All non-favourite sentences are referable to one of five syntactic patterns: deictic, predicative, response, interrogative, and vocative. In this abridgement the description of these five sentence-types is omitted.

46 Sentence-type with vocative piece. Sentence-types of classes I to VI may comprise a vocative piece. The structure of the vocative piece is described in section **573.** There is a fixed order between the vocative piece and the rest of the sentence-type in that the vocative piece follows the rest of the sentence-type. Examples: *ñapala,*[1] *iyaliʾ.*[2] STI—VP (1) Voc (2). 'Are you there, fellow?' *maʾkiʾnca*[1] *kəŋma*[2] *pantaʾla,*[3] *iyali.*[4] STII—VP (1, 3) NP (2) Voc (4). 'Why did you go, brother?'

47 Phonological characteristics of favourite sentences.

471 Pause. In a sequence of several sentences, as in a story or conversation, the majority of sentences, irrespective of the class to which they are allotted, are preceded and followed by a pause. This pause may vary in length considerably. It is frequently accompanied by indrawn breath, although more than one sentence may be spoken before further breath is taken, and occasionally fresh breath is taken at some point within a sentence. It seems probable that indrawn breath at pause points which do not coincide with sentence boundaries is attributable to extra-linguistic factors.

Pauses, of varying length, are also found within the sentence. Such pauses are generally shorter than those marking sentence boundaries, and often coincide with the boundaries of pieces of the sentence.

472 Intonation. All sentences are marked by one or more pitch patterns. Most frequently sentences are accompanied by one pitch pattern only; the unit set up for the statement of grammatical structure, the sentence-type, frequently corresponds to the unit set up for the statement of part of the phonological structure, i.e., the tunes set up for the description of the pitch patterns (**35**). This coincidence of grammatical and phonological boundaries is very frequent and, of course, lends support to the analysis at both levels. However, there is not complete congruence of these two different levels of analysis: (*a*) Not infrequently the complete grammatical unit, the sentence-type, corresponds to two or more units of the phonological analysis, the tunes. In such instances it is found that the different tunes correspond to various parts of the sentence which are themselves units at a lower level. For example, when a single sentence is accompanied by two tunes, it is frequently the case that the sentence is referable to a structure which includes an included clause (**5523**), and that one tune corresponds to this included clause. This type of non-congruence is found with favourite sentences only. (*b*) Much less frequently the complete grammatical unit, the sentence-type, corresponds to only part of the tune set up at the phonological level. In such instances two or more sentences are accompanied by a pitch pattern which is allotted to one tune. It is only very rarely that more than two sentences are found marked in this way. This type of non-congruence applies to all classes of sentence.

Chapter Five: The structure of the verbal piece and other pieces of the favourite sentence

51 General. This chapter deals with the internal grammatical structuring of the pieces into which are divided the sentence-types to which all favourite sentences are allotted; namely, the verbal piece, the nominal piece, and the vocative piece. Special attention is given to the verbal piece, which is described in section **52–56**. Section **57** deals briefly with the nominal piece and the vocative piece.

52 Main divisions. The verbal piece is an endocentric construction consisting of at least one head word, which is always a verb, with or without one or more subordinate words.

The verbal piece is divided into a verbal head and a verbal expansion. These two parts of the verbal piece are not found in any fixed order relative to each other.

There are two types of verbal piece, the simple verbal piece which comprises one or more head words alone, and the expanded verbal piece which comprises both a head and an expansion. Any expanded verbal piece, comprising head and expansion, may be substituted by a simple verbal piece, comprising a verbal head only, inasmuch as relations with the rest of the structure remain unaltered. Examples: *pilə̃antusikima*,[1] *lansaʔ-nuntaʔlina*[ʔ2] *fayaʔlusa*[ʔ3] VP (12) NP (3 women), VP—VH (2 they danced again) VX (1 when he piped) 'When he piped the women danced again'. *nuʔaŋima*,[1] *nana*[2] *aliʔlima*[3] *insəkitaʔsu*[ʔ4] *ðuŋkəli*[5] VP—VH (5 'he looked for') VX (1 'then', 2 'the', 3 'other', 4 'who had hidden himself') 'Then he looked for the other one who had hidden himself.' IP.

53 The verbal head. The verbal head consists of one or more verb forms. Such verb forms are always suffixed by one of the verb inflectional suffixes of paradigms 1–7, 11, and 12. Two types of verbal head are distinguished: simple and complex. A simple verbal head comprises one verb form only. A complex verbal head comprises two or more verbs in a coordinative relationship to each other. Within any verbal piece any or all verbs of the verbal head may function as head to a part of or to all the verbal expansion of the particular verbal piece. There is no fixed order between the verbal head and verbal expansion. Examples: *wəkilalərima*[1] *ðiʔtuwiñi*[2] *incilalak*[3] *wəkapincaʔsik*[4] VP (2–4) NP (1 'the lightning'), VP—VHs (2 'almost killed') VX (3 'on the road', 4 'when he was coming') 'The lightning almost killed

him on the path, when he was coming'. . . . *saka²tununta²lima*[1] *ala²-ðukərsi²ma*[2] *saka²tununta²ŋima*[3] *ilapa*[4] *mapa²tuli*[5] VP—VHc (1 'he worked again') VX (2 'for one month') VHc (5 'he bought') VX (3 'working again', 4 'gun') 'He worked again for one month, and when he had worked he bought a gun.'

54 Different types of verbal piece. A two-fold classification of different types of verbal piece is possible since the various structures of the verbal piece may be grouped together on the basis either of similarities of the verbal head or similarities of the verbal expansion. A classification on the basis of the verbal head would distinguish verbal pieces with a simple verbal head from those with a complex verbal head. A different classification could be made on the basis of whether or not the verbal piece included a verbal expansion. These two types of classification could be combined by taking either as a primary classification and subdividing on the basis of the other.

55 The verbal expansion.

551 Composition. Irrespective of the structure of the verbal head, the verbal piece may include a verbal expansion. This verbal expansion may include one or more clauses, one or more phrases, one or more words, or unrestricted combinations of clause(s), phrase(s), and word(s). These various grammatical units—clause, phrase, and word—are subordinate to the verbal head. In the case of a complex verbal head, the verbal expansion of clause, phrase, or word may be subordinate to any or all of the verbs comprising the complex head.

552 The Clause. The clause is found solely as the verbal expansion of the verbal piece and is in a subordinate relationship to the verbal head, since it is never found alone but always with a verbal head. The endocentric construction of verbal head and clause is always substitutable by a verbal head alone and never by a clause alone. Clauses are divided into three types, concordial clauses, non-concordial clauses, and included clauses. Some general features of all three types may be noted.

The internal grammatical structuring of every clause is similar to the structuring of one or other of the sentence-types already described in Chapter IV. The structuring of the included clause corresponds to the structuring of any sentence-type, and included clauses have been found with a structuring similar to one or other of each of the 7 classes of sentence-type. The structuring of the concordial and non-concordial clause is found always to be similar to the structuring of sentence-types I and II

only, i.e. to the sentence-types to which all favourite sentences are allotted, except that, (*a*) no vocative piece is found in the concordial or non-concordial clause, and (*b*) the verb head in these two types of clause is always found with an inflectional suffix of paradigms 6–10 (**74**), in contrast to the verb which functions as the verbal head of the verbal piece of the sentence-type, which always includes an inflectional suffix of paradigms 1–7, 11, and 12.

5521 The concordial clause. Concordial clauses may be defined as those clauses which (*a*) always exhibit agreement of person and number between the verb which functions as the head of the verbal piece of the clause and the verb which functions as the head of the verbal piece of which the clause is a part, and (*b*) which contain as verbal head a verb suffixed by one of the verb inflectional suffixes of paradigm 10. Both criteria are applicable to every concordial clause.

The internal grammatical structuring of every concordial clause is similar to the structuring of either sentence-type I or sentence-type II, except that (*a*) no vocative piece is found in the concordial clause (**441** and **442**) and (*b*) the verb head is limited to different paradigms. The term 'included sentence-type' is used to distinguish the internal structuring of the clause from the internal structuring of the favourite sentence-types.

The verbal piece of the concordial clause is structured in the same way as the verbal piece of sentence-types I and II and is divided into verbal head and verbal expansions in the same way and with the same relationships as already described for the verbal piece of the favourite sentence in section **52**.

The verbal head of the concordial clause is similar in structuring to the verbal head of the verbal piece of sentence-types I and II as described in section **44**, except that the verb or verbs concerned are always found suffixed by one of the verb inflectional suffixes of paradigm 10 only, in contrast to the verb which functions as the head of the verbal piece of sentence-types I and II, which is suffixed by any member of the inflectional paradigms 1–7, 11, or 12.

The verbal expansion of the concordial clause is similar in every respect to the verbal expansion of the verbal pieces of the sentence-types I and II. Thus there may be further clauses within the concordial clause and so on in principle without limitation. Example: . . . *ðunalima*[1] *pili*[2]*taŋ*,[2] *pəŋusu*[3]*nəŋima*[3] *maŋ*,[4] . . . *təkkənca*[2]*li* VP—VH (5 'he came and ran') VX (1–4), VX—Cc (1, 2) Cc (3, 4), Cc—STiI—VP—VH (2 'seizing') VX (1 'torch'), Cc—STiI—VP—VH (4 'taking') VX (3 'his matches') 'Seizing a torch and taking his matches he came and ran . . .'.

5522 The non-concordial clause. Non-concordial clauses may be defined as those clauses which are not included clauses and which, (*a*) do not exhibit agreement of person and number between the verb functioning as the head of the verbal piece of the clause and the verb functioning as the head of the verbal piece of which the clause is a part, and (*b*) which contain as verbal head a verb suffixed by one of the verb inflectional suffixes of paradigms 6, 7, 8, or 9. Both criteria are applicable to every non-concordial clause.

When either the clause itself or the sentence-type of which it is a part comprises a verbal piece only, some possibility of ambiguity occurs. For example, the verb head of the verbal piece of the sentence-type may exhibit exponents of the categories of third person and singular, and the verb head of the verbal piece of the non-concordial clause may also exhibit exponents of the categories of third person and singular, and thus the two verbs concerned may appear to be in agreement of person and number contrary to the criterion stated in the paragraph above. However, this type of agreement may be treated as accidental and not structural, since if the clause and the sentence-type of which it is a part is substituted by a clause and a sentence-type corresponding in every respect except that each comprises a nominal piece as well as a verbal piece, it will be seen that different nominal pieces are found in the sentence-type and in the non-concordial clause. Thus the non-concordial clause may be contrasted with the concordial clause, for if a similar substitution is made in the case of a concordial clause and the sentence-type of which it is a part, one and the same nominal piece will be found in the concordial clause and in the sentence-type concerned.

The internal grammatical structuring of the non-concordial clause is similar in every respect to that of the concordial clause, as described in section 5521, except that the verb(s) functioning as the verbal head of the non-concordial clause are always found suffixed by one of the verb inflectional suffixes of paradigms 6, 7, 8, and 9 (not paradigm 10). Apart from this the two types of clause are completely parallel in structure. Examples: *ðuŋkəɾapaŋima*,[1] *kanañi*[2] *musənkəkima*[3] *ðuʾapasik*[4]. VP—VH (2 'he found') VX (1, 3, 4), VX—Cc (1) Cn (3, 4), Cc—STiI—VP—VH (1 'having looked'), Cn—STiI—VP—VH (4 'when he was sitting') VX (3 'on high'). 'Having looked for him, he found him when he was sitting on high.' IQ.

5523 The included clause. Included clauses are those clauses which follow or precede a verb of sub-class O (**662**), or a form derived from a verb of sub-class O, the verb, or derived form, and the included clause

constituting an endocentric construction of which the sub-class O form is head and the included clause is an expansion. The sub-class O form is either a verb functioning as the head of the verbal piece of either a sentence-type of class I or II or of a clause which is itself a part of such a sentence-type, or a verb-derived nominal which is the head of a relative phrase; cf. **5532**. The included clause may be structured in a manner similar to the internal grammatical structuring of any sentence-type of any class described in Chapter IV. All such sentence-types are termed included sentence-types. Examples: *piləñantununtəŕ*,[1] *lansəʾciðək*,[2] *itulima*.[3] VP—VH (3 'he said') VX (1, 2), VX—Ci (1) Ci (2), Ci—STiI—VP—VH (1 'Pipe again'), Ci—STiI—VP—VH (2 'We will dance'). '"Pipe again. We are going to dance," said one.' *ðəkpiliʾ*[1] *wəkwatərkəŋ*,[2] *lumpawaʾ*,[3] *itəŕkusuʾ malək*,[4] *liʾamu*,[5] *wəncaʾləkˌ*[6] *itulima*.[7] VP—VH (7 'he said') VX (1–6), VX—Ci—STiI—VP—VH (6 'I came') VX (1–5), VX—Fr (1–4) Cc (5 'having seen'), Fr—RH (4 'because of what they said to me'), rX (1–3), rX—Ci (1–2) Ci (3), Ci—STiI—VP—VH (2 'I will come to you') VX (1 'at night'), Ci—STiI—VP—VH (3 'let's talk'). «He said, "I came after I had looked, because of what they said to me, 'I will come to you at night, let's talk'".»

553 The phrase. There are three types of phrase which are found as part of the verbal expansion: the nominal phrase, the relative phrase, and the adverbial phrase. Of these three types of phrase the nominal phrase is found much the most frequently in the material examined. All phrases of these three types have this in common that they comprise an endocentric construction.

5531 The nominal phrase. The nominal phrase is an endocentric construction consisting of a head which is always a nominal and an expansion, or two or more head words with or without an expansion.

55311 The nominal head. The nominal head consists of one or more nominals. Two types of nominal head are distinguished: simple and complex. The simple nominal head comprises one nominal only, whereas the complex nominal head comprises two or more nominals in a coordinate relationship; cf. the verbal head, **53**. Within the nominal phrase any or all nominals of the nominal head may function as head to a part of or all the nominal expansion of the particular nominal phrase. Members of the nominal sub-classes noun and adjective may function as head of a nominal phrase but not members of the sub-classes pronoun or relative.

55312 Different types of nominal phrase. A two-fold classification of different types of nominal phrase is possible on the basis of the different

types of nominal head and nominal expansion; cf. **54**. On the basis of the nominal head a classification into simple and complex nominal phrase is made. Alternatively, the presence or absence of an expansion may be taken as the criterion for the primary classification, and a further sub-division on the basis of the simple and complex head can be made.

55313 The nominal expansion. The nominal expansion may consist of any of the following constructions or unrestricted combinations of these elements: (*a*) One or more nominals of the sub-class adjective. Generally any such adjective precedes the nominal head. This type of expansion is the most frequently occurring type. (*b*) A nominal, either functioning as head of a nominal phrase or independently, which is always suffixed by the non-verbal suffix *-ki*, which may be roughly translated as 'possession'. Such a nominal may be of any sub-class. No examples of a nominal expansion for this type of nominal phrase have been found that do not fall under type (*a*) described above. In fact, in a large majority of cases only a single nominal is found. This type of nominal expansion generally follows the nominal head to which it is subordinate. (*c*) One or more nominals of the sub-class relative. Generally any such relative follows the nominal head. (*d*) A relative phrase containing a head nominal with at least one subordinate word; cf. **5532**. Generally the relative phrase is found following the nominal head to which it is subordinate.

55314. Nominal phrases in the verbal expansion. The verbal expansion of the verbal piece may include a number of nominal phrases. All such phrases fall into one of two groups, according to whether or not the head nominal is suffixed by a member of groups B and C of the non-verbal suffixes (**832**).

Nominal phrases containing a nominal head which is not suffixed by a member of groups B and C of the non-verbal suffixes fall into the category of object nominal phrases (**555**). The nominal head of such phrases may be suffixed by members of group A non-verbal suffixes. When the nominal head is so suffixed the nominals of the nominal expansion do not exhibit any type of concord with the head nominal. Nominals of the nominal expansion are not usually found suffixed, though they do occur suffixed by members of the word suffix class, and less frequently are found suffixed by members of group A of the non-verbal suffixes.

All nominal phrases of the verbal piece which do not fall into the category of object nominal phrases are designated nominal phrases with adverbial function. All such nominal phrases contain a nominal head which is suffixed by a member of groups B and C of the non-verbal suffixes.

The nominal head of such phrases may be suffixed by members of group A non-verbal suffixes and by word suffixes, and so, too, may be the nominals of the nominal expansion of such phrases, though suffixation of the expansion is less frequent than suffixation of the nominal head. There is no type of concord between the nominal head and expansion. Example: *katuʾtaʾ*[1] *kutunəŋ*[2] *katuʾtaʾ*[3] *piwalaʾliʾnəŋima*[4] *mapaʾtulina*[5] VP—VH (5 'they bought') VX (1–4), VX—FN—NHc (2 'his shirt') NXa (1 'two') NHc (4 'his trousers') NXa (3 'two') 'They bought two shirts and two pairs of trousers.'

5532 The relative phrase. The relative phrase is an endocentric construction consisting of a head which is always a relative nominal and an expansion.

55321 The relative head. The relative head consists of one relative nominal (**6644**).

55322 The relative expansion. The relative expansion comprises one or more words of any word class in a subordinate relation to the head. The relative expansion most commonly comprises one or more nominals which may or may not be suffixed by members of groups A, B, C, and E of the non-verbal suffixes. Occasionally the relative expansion contains one or more included clauses (**5523**). In such instances the relative head is always derived from a verb stem of sub-class O (**662**). The relative expansion almost always precedes the relative head in the sentence. When the relative expansion contains a nominal there may be concord between the head and the expansion, in that there may be agreement of person and number between the nominal of the expansion and the relative head, which always exhibits exponents of the categories of person and number (**828**). Such a nominal is similar to the subject nominal of the nominal piece in sentence-types of class II (**442**).

55323 Differences in structure between the nominal and relative phrases. Since both the nominal phrase and the relative phrase contain heads which are members of the nominal word class, it is important to draw attention to the fact that these two types of phrase are clearly distinguished. The chief differences between them can be indicated by stating that the relative phrase is much more like a clause or sentence than is the nominal phrase. Specific ways in which the two types of phrase are differentiated are as follows: (*a*) The expansion of the relative phrase may contain a nominal of the sub-class noun with or without a non-verbal suffix of groups A, B,

and C; whereas the expansion of the nominal phrase may not include a nominal of the sub-class noun unless that noun is suffixed by a member of Group C of the non-verbal class of suffixes. (*b*) The expansion of the relative phrase may comprise an included clause, whereas the expansion of the nominal phrase never does. (*c*) The expansion of the relative phrase may include words of other word classes than the nominal, whereas the expansion of the nominal phrase includes words of word classes other than the nominal only when those words are themselves part of the expansion of a relative phrase which is functioning as part of that nominal expansion. (*d*) The head of a nominal phrase may be a nominal of sub-class noun or adjective, whereas the head of a relative phrase is always a nominal of the sub-class relative.

55324 The relative phrase in the verbal expansion. The relative phrase is found as part of the verbal expansion in two ways: (*a*) as directly subordinate to the verbal head, and (*b*) as part of the nominal expansion of a nominal phrase which is itself part of the verbal expansion. In this first instance the relative phrase may be in a co-ordinative relationship to any nominal or nominal phrase in the verbal expansion. In this second instance the relative phrase is directly subordinate to the head of the nominal phrase, the whole nominal phrase of which it is a part being subordinate to the verbal head. When found as part of the nominal expansion the relative phrase contains a head which may or may not be suffixed by members of group A non-verbal suffixes and by word suffixes, but which may not be suffixed by members of groups B and C of the non-verbal suffixes. In contrast, when found directly subordinate to the verbal head, the head of the relative phrase may be suffixed by members of groups A, B, and C of the non-verbal suffixes and by word suffixes. Example: *nanəklima*[1] *mapaʾtulinaʾ*[2] *kapəŕ*[3] *nana*[4] *muʾsuʾ*[5] *kapəŕ*[6] *Ticuna*[7] *kapəŕ*[8] *itəŕkasuʾ*[9] *uʾcapiʃakima*[10] *napi*[11] *wəǩaʾsuʾ*[12]. VP—VH (2 'they bought') VX (1, 3–12), VX—W (1 'then') N (3 'poison') FN (4–12), FN—NH (6 'poison') NX (4, 5, 7–12), NX—Fr (4, 5) Fr (7–9) Fr (10–12), Fr—rH (5 'which is good') rX—a (4 'that'), Fr—rH (9 'which they call') rX—a (7 'Ticuna') N (8 'poison'), Fr—rH (12 'which came') rX—N (10 'in a small vessel') A (11 'formerly') 'They bought poison, good poison, that which they call Ticuna poison, that which came formerly in a small vessel.'

5533 The adverb phrase. The adverb phrase is an endocentric construction comprising one head word, which is always an adverb of the sub-class phrasal adverb, and an expansion comprising one subordinate word, which

is always a nominal of the sub-class adjective **665** and **6646**. The expansion always precedes the head. It is rare for any verbal expansion to include more than one adverb phrase, though occasionally two phrases in a co-ordinate relationship to each other have been found. Example: *iñəŕ*[1] *ðəkpili*[ʔ]*lusi*[ʔ]*ma*[2] *incilalak*[3] *pa*[ʔ]*wilitapali.*[4] VP—VH (4 'he walked at night') VX (1–3), VX—N (3 'along a path') FA (1–2), FA—AH (2 'night') AX (1 'every') 'He walked along a path every night.'

554 The word. There are three classes of word which are found as part of the verb expansion: the nominal, the particle, and the adverb. All these classes of word are found both with and without suffixes in the verb expansion. Any type of suffixation which occurs with these word classes is also found when they are functioning as part of the verb expansion, except that the nominal is never found suffixed with members of groups D and E of the non-verbal suffixes. Example: *nu*[ʔ]*taŋima*[1] *ipa*[ʔ]*linci*[2] *a*[ʔ]*anu*[ʔ]*tuli.*[3] VP—VH (3 'he made it to fall') VX (1, 2), VX—Cc (1 'having done that') A (2 'then') 'Then, having done that, he made it fall to the ground.'

555 Nominals of the categories of object and of adverbial function. Within the verbal expansion all nominal phrases and nominals which are not members of any nominal phrase are in one of two categories: they are either object nominals and object nominal phrases, or nominals with adverbial function and nominal phrases with adverbial function.

5551 Object nominal and object nominal phrase. Any nominal in the verbal expansion which is not a subordinate member of a nominal phrase and which is not suffixed by a member of groups B and C of the non-verbal class of suffixes is designated an object nominal, and the phrase of which it is the head is an object nominal phrase (**55314**). The object nominal phrase seldom occurs in the verb expansion of a verbal piece whose head is a bipersonal verb, though it has been found to do so occasionally; in such instances there is agreement of person and number between the second person of the bipersonal verb and the object nominal.

A verbal piece in which an object nominal of the sub-class pronoun, of first or second person, singular or plural, is found as a verb expansion and whose verb head is a unipersonal verb, corresponds to a verbal piece identical with this verbal piece except that no object nominal is found and the verb head is a bipersonal verb whose secondary person is first or second person, singular or plural, according to the person and number of the object nominal of the expansion of the verbal piece which comprised

a unipersonal verb. These two types of construction seem interchangeable though stylistic differences may be noted. In general the construction having a unipersonal verb plus nominal would appear to be more emphatic than the construction with a bipersonal verb.

5552 Nominal and nominal phrase with adverbial function. Any nominal in the verbal expansion which is not a subordinate member of a nominal phrase, and which is suffixed by a member of groups B and C of the non-verbal class of suffixes, is designated a nominal with adverbial function, and the phrase of which it is the head is a nominal phrase with adverbial function (**55314**).

56 Alternative treatment of the verbal piece. An alternative analysis of the verbal piece which would set up two types of verbal piece, the simple verbal piece consisting of a single verb, and the expanded verbal piece consisting of a verb and co-ordinative or subordinative expansion, is omitted in this abridgement.

57 Other pieces of the favourite sentence-types.

571 General. The two favourite sentence-types both contain a verbal piece and may also contain a vocative piece, while one of the two sentence-types always contains a nominal piece. There are, thus, two other pieces besides the verbal piece; this section describes these two other pieces briefly. A comparison of the nominal piece, vocative piece, and nominal phrases of the verbal piece is also made.

572 The nominal piece. The nominal piece only occurs in the class II sentence-type (cf. **442**). The nominal piece consists of one or more nominals or nominal phrases functioning as subject in the manner described in section **4424**. Usually the nominal piece comprises only one nominal or nominal phrase, but occasionally it is found to comprise two or, rarely, three nominals or nominal phrases. Such nominals or nominal phrases are in a relationship of apposition to each other, and may be found either with one following the other or discontinuously in the sentence. The nominal phrase which is (part of) the nominal piece is similar in every respect to the nominal phrase of the verb expansion as described in section **5531**, except that the head of the nominal phrase of the nominal piece may be suffixed by members of groups A and E but not of groups B, C, and D of the non-verbal suffixes; (cf. **83**). For other details of the nominal piece see section **442**. Examples: *napaʔ*[21] *alaʔsaʔ*[22] *iyaliʔ*[23] *ʃiwiluk*[4] *amanaʔləkᵏ*[5] *iðəŋmali.*[6] VP (1, 4-6) NP (2, 3), VP—VH (6 'he fought') VX (1, 4, 5),

VX—A (1 'formerly') N (4 'at Jeberos') N (5 'with a tiger'). NP—Fn—NH (3 'man'). NX (2 'one'). 'Formerly a certain man fought with a tiger at Jeberos.'

573 The vocative piece. The vocative piece may occur by itself as a non-favourite sentence, or as part of a sentence of sentence-type classes I to VI; **(43–46)**. The vocative piece comprises a nominal phrase or a single nominal of the sub-class noun. Examples of a nominal phrase functioning as the vocative piece are very infrequent and always limited to a single nominal as head and a single adjective as expansion. In theory any noun may function as a vocative piece, but in the material examined a very restricted number of nouns are found as the vocative piece. However, this limitation is treated as situational in character.

When the vocative piece is part of sentence-types of class I–VI, it is found to be in a paratactical relationship to the other pieces of the sentence structure. For example, in class I sentence-type, the vocative piece is in no sense part of the verbal piece, for it clearly cannot be regarded either as head of the verbal piece, since this is always a verb, or as part of the expansion of the verbal piece, since it is not in a subordinate relationship to the verb. Examples: *ñapala*,[1] *iyali*,[2] *itukuñini²ma*,[3] VP—VH (3 'he went') VX (1, 2), VX—Ci—STiI—VP (1 'are you there') Voc (2 'fellow'). '"Are you there, fellow", he went and said.'

574 A comparison of the nominal piece, vocative piece, and nominal phrase of the verbal piece. The nominal piece, vocative piece, and nominal phrase of the verbal piece might seem to be very similar in structure in that all three comprise a nominal phrase. However, certain formal distinctions clearly mark out each as separate from the other in structure as well as in function. (*a*) The nominal phrase of the nominal piece is distinguished from the nominal phrases of the vocative and verbal pieces in that it is in a subject relationship to the verbal piece; this is marked formally by agreement of person and number between the nominal piece and verbal piece and by the potentiality of suffixation by *-lər* **(442)**, whereas the nominal phrases of the vocative and verbal pieces stand in no such relationship to the verb head of the verbal piece with which they occur. (*b*) The nominal phrase of the vocative piece is distinguished from the nominal phrases of the nominal and verbal pieces in that the vocative piece is almost always in final position in the sentence, whereas the position of the other two types of nominal phrase is relatively free. Furthermore, sentences referable to a structure comprising a vocative piece are marked by different intonation tunes from sentences referable to structures

comprising nominal and verbal pieces, **472**. (*c*) Some nominal phrases of the verbal piece, namely those with adverbial function (**55314**), are distinguished from nominal phrases of the nominal and vocative pieces in that the head nominal of such phrases is always found suffixed by members of groups B and C of the non-verbal suffixes, **832**, whereas the head nominal of phrases of the nominal and vocative pieces are never found suffixed by any member of the groups B and C of the non-verbal suffixes.

Chapter Six: The word, word classes, word suffixes, and interjections

61 General. This chapter takes up the word and shows how it is formally established as a linguistic element. Different classes of words are set up, and within these classes sub-classes. All classes and sub-classes are formally based. Thus all words are assigned to one or another word class and to one or another sub-class. The chapter also distinguishes the different types of suffix found and deals in full with one class of suffix, the word suffix, which may be found with words of any class. The last section of the chapter deals with the interjection and pause form.

62 The word.

621 Definition. The word is defined on the basis of both grammatical and phonological criteria.

6211 Phonological criteria. Every form having, (*a*) one full stress, or in the case of compound words only, at least two full stresses, **624**, and (*b*) potentiality of pause immediately before or after it, is a word.

6212 Grammatical criteria. The word is defined as a minimal free form and the tests of independence, relative fixity of internal structure, and absence of interruption by other forms, though not wholly applicable, are largely so.

(*a*) Independence. As has been stated above, most words may occur as sentences. Any form that may be preceded and followed by silence is a word unless, of course, it is several words together.

(*b*) Relative fixity of the internal structure of words. The internal parts of Jebero words may be grouped into five main categories: prefixes, stems, extensors of the stem, class suffixes, and word suffixes; **64**, **71**, and **81**. A Jebero word may comprise morphemes from any or all of these categories and may contain more than one morpheme of each category, subject to certain limitations which are stated in the relevant sections. The order of morphemes within the word is fixed, in that morphemes of these different categories always occur in the order listed above, though when words comprise two or more morphemes of the same category the order of the morphemes is usually, but not always, fixed. The sections dealing with each of these categories of morpheme give full details of the circumstances under which transposition is possible, e.g. **73.**

(*c*) Relative constancy of internal structure. There is, to a large degree, absence of interruption of the internal structure of words by other forms or by pause. Certain words comprising two or more morphemes may be said to correspond to other words whose internal structuring is identical except that an additional morpheme is found between the morphemes, corresponding to the two morphemes which the shorter word contains. Thus, for example, verb forms including one extensor may correspond to verb forms identical in every respect except that a second extensor is found, either between the stem and the extensor or between the extensor and the inflectional suffix. Furthermore, in the description of verb stems, **72**, it is stated that certain stems contain a verb root and a nominal root. These stems may be said to correspond to stems containing a verb root only, and the nominal root which follows the verb root in the larger stems and precedes the inflectional suffix may be said to be an interruption of the shorter words. As will be seen in the sections dealing with the stems of the different word classes, this type of interruption is not common; cf. **72**, **82**, and **92**. For the majority of words, then, it is true to say that their internal structuring is constant, there being no possibility of interruption by other free forms.

(*d*) Substitution. In a single word there is normally only one element for which a large number of substitutions can be made. When this test is applied to Jebero words it is found that there is only one element in any word which can be substituted by a large number of other morphemes, and that other elements in the word may be replaced by members of limited series of morphemes only.

622 Types of word. There are two types of word, the simple word and the compound word.

623 The simple word. Every word which has one full stress only is a simple word. The prosodic feature of full stress is found on certain fixed syllables only in the simple word. Full stress occurs on the first syllable of monosyllabic and disyllabic words and on the second syllable of all other simple words except: (*a*) when such words are suffixed by the following word suffixes: *-aʾca*, *-aʾtaʾ*, *-ci*, *-təŋ*, and *-untana*, (**673** and **3444**); (*b*) when emphatic stress occurs, (**3445**); and (*c*) instances noted in section **3443**.

624 The compound word. Every word which has more than one full stress is a compound word. Compound words occur comparatively infrequently. In the texts examined there have been a little over a hundred

examples. In each case the compound word is a verb with a suffixed root stem (**7232**). Full stress falls upon the first syllable of the single or reduplicated stems of these words and upon the second syllable of the post-root elements of the word unless those elements are of one or two syllables, in which case full stress falls upon the first of these syllables.

The stress pattern of compound words bears a resemblance to simple words in that the post-root elements are stressed in a manner similar to that of the simple word; i.e., stress falls on the first syllable of monosyllabic and disyllabic words and on the second syllable of all other words. Since each reduplication of the root element is also marked by stress, it would be possible to treat the compound word as a series of words or a word phrase from the phonological point of view, each repetition of the root and the post-root elements alike being treated as individual words, each having full stress. However, this treatment is rejected since neither the root nor the post-root elements occur in isolation elsewhere. In respect to the roots this argument is hardly sufficient, since these roots do not, in fact, occur elsewhere, but as regards the post-root elements this feature seems conclusive, since these elements occur frequently as part of verb forms which are simple words. Since the post-root elements are everywhere else bound forms, they are treated as such when found with the reduplicated roots, and so the compound word is set up.

Compound words are distinguished orthographically from simple words in that the reduplicated roots are followed by a hyphen, e.g. *su²-su²-su²-a²tapali* 'He made the noise of sucking.' IN.

63 Criteria for word classes. The verbal piece and other parts of the sentence have been described in terms of structures which are made up of words. Every Jebero word is assigned to one of four word classes, and the structuring of units larger than the word is stated in terms of these word classes. In chapters 7–9 classes of stems are set up on morphological grounds, as part of the description of the internal structuring of the members of the different word classes. These stem classes completely overlap the sub-classes of the word classes set up in this chapter and do not represent a further sub-division of these sub-classes. Thus the members of word classes of this chapter are sub-divided in two different ways. On the grounds of syntactic function, sub-classes termed 'sub-classes of the word classes' are set up, while on the basis of morphological structuring sub-classes termed 'stem classes' are established. The following subsections first discuss the general criteria used in the establishment of the four word classes and then give the detailed criteria for each word class and sub-class in turn.

631 General. Grammatical criteria provide a basis for the formal establishment of word classes. However, when grammatical criteria have marked out stem and affix and provided a basis for word classes, differences in the phonological structure of the stems of different word classes may be noted (**3422**). Syntactic function is the chief criterion for the establishment of word classes. However, morphological features are used to give a formal definition of the four word classes, while syntactic features are used to define further sub-classes of the four main classes. There is here a distinction between the syntactic factors which have largely determined the word classes and the morphological features which have been used to provide a formal definition of these classes. The morphological criteria involved in the definition of these four word classes concern the distribution of the word stems with various suffixes and, in particular, with three groups of suffixes.

632 The verb. Every word containing a stem and an inflectional suffix of the paradigmatic closed series of suffixes described in section **74** is a member of the verb word class. Suffixes which are found as part of verb forms are of two classes: verb suffixes, including both extensors and inflectional suffixes, and word suffixes. Verb suffixes are those which are found always with verb stems and never with stems of other word classes (**71**, **73**, and **74**). Word suffixes are found as elements of all classes of words (**64** and **67**).

633 The particle. Every word which may occur either without suffixation or suffixed with the word suffix class only is a particle. All particles comprise a stem, which itself frequently occurs as a word without any affixation (**94**). All particles have the potentiality of suffixation by the members of the word suffix class (**64** and **67**).

634 The Nominal. Every word which may occur without suffixation and (*a*) has the potentiality of suffixation by any and every member of the non-verbal class of suffixes, and/or (*b*) has the potentiality of suffixation by order 8 of the non-verbal class of suffixes only when a member of order 7 of that class of suffixes precedes the member of order 8 (**832**) is a nominal. The criteria (*a*) and (*b*) are not in complementary distribution. Either of the two criteria is sufficient to establish the word class of any one word even if the other criterion is inapplicable. Two criteria are given since in a number of instances one or other of the two is inapplicable owing to collocational[1] limitations. In no instance are these two criteria contra-

[1] See Appendix II "The term collocational," pages 118–119.

dictory. In all cases, if criterion (*a*) or (*b*) is applicable from the structural point of view, it may be assumed the absence of forms exemplifying the alternative criterion is due solely to collocational or stylistic limitations, i.e. not to structural factors. It would, therefore, seem best to treat these two criteria as collocational sub-classes of criteria with an overlapping application determined solely by collocational factors. Non-verbal suffixes are found only with stems of nominals and adverbs, never with the stems of verbs or particles (**64**).

635 The adverb. Every word which may occur without suffixation and (*a*) has the potentiality of suffixation by any member of the non-verbal class of suffixes, *except* suffixes of orders 2, 3, 4, 10, 13, 14, and 16 of this class of suffixes, and/or (*b*) has the potentiality of suffixation by order 8 of the non-verbal class of suffixes without a member of order 7 preceding the member of order 8, is an adverb. In the case of adverbs, as in the case of nominals, these criteria (*a*) and (*b*) are not in complementary distribution. Either criterion is sufficient to establish the class of any word, but, since in a number of instances one or other criterion is inapplicable owing to collocational limitations, it is necessary to state both criteria. In no instance has any word exhibited characteristics which would establish a conflicting variance between criteria (*a*) and (*b*).

Adverbs and nominals share certain morphological features: both alike comprise stems which may occur alone without further suffixation and both may be suffixed by the non-verbal class of suffixes. They are distinguished, however, by the fact that adverbs are not found suffixed by members of groups D and E and a few members of group A of the non-verbal class of suffixes, and by a difference in the distribution of order 8 of the non-verbal suffixes with these stems, as stated above. Adverbs and nominals are further distinguished syntactically, since they may function in different types of phrase as described in section **553**. A further syntactic difference is that whereas all nominals may be found as part of a nominal phrase, only a small number of adverbs are found functioning in adverb phrases (**5533**).

64 Correlation of the suffixial system and word class system. By way of summary, the correlation of the suffixial system and the word class system may be stated. Suffixes are grouped into three classes: word suffixes, verb suffixes, and non-verbal suffixes. The distribution of these classes is as follows: members of the word suffix class occur with all word classes, members of the verb suffix class occur with verbs only, members of the non-verbal suffix class occur with nominals and adverbs only.

65 Theoretical statement of the word class system. The word class system of the Jebero language may be stated as a series of binary oppositions as follows: (*a*) Obligatory/optional suffixation. This criterion divides words into verbs and non-verbs, all verbs having obligatory suffixation whereas other words have facultative suffixation. (*b*) Potentiality/non-potentiality of non-verbal suffixation. This criterion divides non-verbs into nominals and adverbs on the one hand as opposed to particles on the other, since particles have no potentiality of suffixation by the non-verbal class of suffixes, whereas nominals and adverbs have this potentiality. (*c*) Potentiality/non-potentiality of groups D and E non-verbal suffixation and/or occurrence/non-occurrence of 7th order suffixes whenever 8th order non-verbal suffixes are found. This criterion divides into nominals and adverbs, nominals having potentiality of Groups D and E suffixation and occurrence of 7th order suffixes whenever 8th order occur, adverbs having no such potentiality and no such distribution with 7th and 8th order suffixes.

66 Sub-classes of word classes.

661 General. Syntactic criteria are used to establish the different sub-classes of the various word classes.

662 Sub-classes of the verb. Two sub-classes of the verb are established and all verbs are referred to one of them. Sub-class O comprises all verbs which may be preceded or followed by an included clause, and comprises the following: *itu-* 'say', *kamafi-* 'order', *lawək-* 'hear', *li²-* 'see', *tu-* 'say', *wintu* 'tell'. Sub-class N comprises all verbs which are not members of sub-class O.

663 Sub-classes of the particle. Particles are divided into two sub-classes, deictic and non-deictic. Sub-class D, deictic particle, comprises all particles that are found in deictic sentences. This sub-class contains a relatively small number of members and the sub-class may be listed exhaustively as follows: *ma²asu²* 'here', *ma²atu²* 'here it is', *ma²ata²na* 'there it is', *ma²namasu²* 'there it is', *ma²atasu²* 'here it is', *namasu²* 'that is . . .'. Sub-class N, non-deictic particle, comprises all particles that are not members of sub-class D.

664 Sub-classes of the nominal. Four sub-classes of the nominal are established and one of these has further sub-classes. These four sub-classes are the noun, adjective, pronoun, and relative. They are established on the basis of function in the nominal phrase.

6641 The noun. Every nominal which functions as head of a nominal

phrase, but only functions as the expansion of such a phrase when suffixed, is a member of the noun sub-class.

6642 The adjective. Every nominal which functions as head of a nominal phrase and which may also function as the expansion of a nominal phrase without suffixation, is a member of the adjective sub-class.

6643 The pronoun. Every nominal which never functions as head of a nominal phrase and which functions as the expansion of the nominal phrase only when suffixed, is a member of the pronoun sub-class.

6644 The relative. Every nominal which never functions as head of a nominal phrase and which functions as, or as part of, the expansion of the nominal phrase without suffixation, is a member of the relative sub-class.

6645 Sub-classes of the adjective. The sub-class of adjectives is further divided into three sub-classes—deictic, interrogative, and general adjective. Sub-class D, deictic adjective, comprises every adjective that has the potentiality of occurring as the obligatory component of a class III deictic sentence-type. This sub-class has only two members: *asuˀ* 'this', *nana* 'that'. Sub-class I, interrogative adjective, comprises every adjective that has the potentiality of occurring as the obligatory component of a Class V interrogative sentence-type. This sub-class is very small and may be listed exhaustively as follows: *əmpuˀðu* 'how many', *əmpuˀni* 'however large', *əŋkasuˀ* 'which', *maˀ-* 'what'. The category of interrogative used here and for the description of sentence-types of classes Y and V (**443** and **45**), and for the interrogative adverb (**665**), is not to be equated with the notional category of question, for in some sentences the notion of surprise and exclamation rather than question is relevant. This is particularly the case where the interrogative adjective *əmpuˀni* is found, since its translation meaning is almost always exclamatory. Sub-class G, general adjective, comprises all adjectives which are not members of sub-classes D and I.

665 Sub-classes of the adverb. Three sub-classes of the adverb are established: phrasal, interrogative, and general adverb. Sub-class F, phrasal adverb, comprises all those adverbs which are found as head of an adverb phrase (**5533**). This class contains a comparatively small number of members and the sub-class may be listed exhaustively. The members of this sub-class, though few in number, are among the most frequently occurring adverbs: *ðasuˀla* 'morning', *ðasuˀwalək̓* 'very early morning',

ðəkpili² 'night', *ðukər* 'month', *əkilala* 'summer', *əŕwa* 'afternoon, late', *əkli* 'to-morrow', *ya²* 'yesterday', *ikinəkli²* 'middle of the night' *napi²* 'long ago', *tamutu²* 'noon', *uta* 'evening.' Sub-class I, interrogative adverb, comprises every adverb which has the potentiality of occurring as the obligatory component of class Y and V sentence-types. This sub-class is very small and may be listed exhaustively as follows: *ampulu* 'at what hour', *əñupa²* 'where'. Sub-class G, general adverb, comprises all those adverbs which are not members of sub-classes F and I.

67 The word suffix.

671 General. The class of affix termed word suffix is a closed system of suffixes comprising some 17 members. All words, of whatever class, may be suffixed by a member of the word suffix class, and a very great variety of words of all classes have been found so suffixed in the material examined. This suffixation is in addition to any suffixation by suffixes of the classes of verb or non-verbal suffix. Only collocational restrictions limit the distribution of the word suffix with the individual words in particular sentences. Any suffix which is found with every class of word is a word suffix.

672 Classes. The 17 members of the word suffix series are arranged in eight classes. Each class comprises one or more suffix and the members of each class are mutually exclusive with any other member of the same class. These classes are termed orders. An order is a class of mutually exclusive affixes occurring in a fixed position in relation to other orders. The different orders are numbered in a manner that indicates their position in relation to each other and to the stem of the word concerned. This numerical arrangement is according to the linear position of each order, counting from the stem outwards. In principle, any member of one order may occur with any member of another order, except when the contrary is stated, and with the limitation already stated that such combinations do not usually exceed three word suffixes in any one word. Members of the word suffix class always follow any member of the other two suffix classes. Any word may include more than one word suffix, though in the majority of instances when they occur one word suffix only is found. However, words with two word suffixes are not uncommon and some occur with three word suffixes. Words having more than three word suffixes are rare, though theoretically combinations with up to seven word suffixes are possible.

The 8 orders of word suffix are listed below and the following details concerning each order are given: (*a*) its membership; (*b*) any relevant

comment with regard to its distribution in words; (*c*) any relevant details regarding its distribution with other orders and, in particular, (i) any other order which is always found with the particular order being treated, i.e. any other order which the occurrence of the particular order presupposes (but not necessarily vice versa), (ii) any other order which never occurs with the particular order, i.e. which the occurrence of the particular order excludes; (*d*) some examples.

Order 1 comprises *-inci* 'truly, indeed'. This suffix occurs with the stems of nominals more frequently than with the stems of other word classes. Order 1 is not found with the members of orders 3 and 4 except when 3 and 4 are found together. Examples: *səǩ̊ipəcaŋima əŕwaʃinci təǩ̊kəʾncaʾli ʃiwiluk*. 'Having arranged his bed, in the late afternoon indeed he ran to Jeberos'. *iyawəranna*ʾ *nanincipiʾlima ilantaʾsu*ʾ . . . 'Wanting to eat that very thing indeed that he had shot . . .'.

Order 2 comprises *-taʾla* 'at least, even'. This suffix has been found only very infrequently in the material examined. Order 2 is not found with orders 3 or 4, except when order 3 is followed by order 5. Examples: *ðəǩ̊taʾla əŋkaʾu* 'Give me water even!' (When nothing else is available.) *ñitaʾla aʾñiʾñi luz electrica* 'It does not even have electric light.'

Order 3 comprises *-piʾ* 'though'. Order 3 is always found with a member of either order 4 or 5. Order 3 is not found with a member of order 1 except when followed by order 4. Order 3 is not found with a member of order 2 except when followed by a member of order 5. Examples: *ðuŋkərapilamuðəkpiʾla piðəǩ̊ kanaŋkuñiðək* 'Even yet while looking we found a house'. *uʾñiʃapiʾntaʾ əŋkaʾðəklək* 'I will give them also a little bit'.

Order 4 comprises *-iʾla* 'still'. Order 4 is frequently preceded by order 3 and is not found with order 2. Examples: *kuʾwapərwək kutunəŋ mapaʾ-ciʾnəkiʾla* 'I have still not bought my wife a blouse'. *asəǩ̊iʾlalaʾ waʾtəŋapu* 'Wait for me here still for a moment'.

Order 5 comprises *-untaʾ* ~*-ntaʾ* 'also, too' (*-ntaʾ* is found after words ending with a vowel, *-untaʾ* after words ending with a consonant); *-ipaʾ* 'perhaps'; *-laʾ* 'presently, in a moment'. The suffix *-untaʾ* is not found with verb stems except when preceded by a suffix of order 3. The suffix *-laʾ* is found most frequently suffixed to verb forms comprising in addition to other elements an inflectional suffix of paradigms 11 or 12 (**743**). The suffix *-untaʾ* is frequently preceded by order 3. Order 5 is divided into two sub-classes on the basis of its distribution with other orders as follows: 5a comprises *-untaʾ* and *-ipaʾ*, 5b comprises *-laʾ*. Order 5b is never found with orders 6-8 whereas order 5a is found with these orders. Examples: *cimipi asuʾntaʾ kəŋmuʾpuʾsiʾla, tulima*. 'This one also is dead just like

us, he said'. *maʾnəŋipiʾma . . . kanañi* 'Whatever has he found?' *asəkiʾlalaʾ waʾtəŋapu* 'Wait for me here still awhile'.

Order 6 comprises *-ima* 'and, connective', *-inəŋ* 'contrastive'. The suffix *-ima* is found exceedingly frequently with all classes of words. Within the sentence this suffix is usually found with the head word of phrases and clauses. This suffix clearly has an inter-sentence function, linking together different sentences. Its use seems also to add emphasis. The suffix *-inəŋ* on the other hand is only found very rarely in the material examined. Examples: *asuʾlərinəŋ əŋkaʾli . . .* 'this man (as opposed to someone else) gave . . .'. *ðuʾkəŕ, itulimaʾ ðuʾlimaʾ liʾlima alaʾsa iyali. . . .* 'Sit down, she said. He sat down. She saw a man . . .'. II J.

Order 7 comprises *-iʾna* 'but', *-aʾca* 'question indicator', *-aʾta* 'question with surprise, -ever', *-aʾka* 'indeed, contrastive', *-apa* 'intensifier', *-untana* ~ *-ntana* 'emphatic affirmative'. *-ntana* is found after words ending with a vowel, *-untana* after words ending with a consonant. Some members of order 7 are found very much more frequently than others. The two suffixes *-iʾna* and *-aʾca* occur very frequently, *-aʾta* and *-aʾka* are not uncommon, whereas the suffixes *-apa* and *-untana* are quite rarely found. Examples: *maʾkiʾna piliʾtapala* 'But why did you catch it?'. *əñupaʾlaʾnca kəŋmamaʾ wəkʹlamaʾ* 'From where have you come?'. *iləncəkaʾtaʾ* 'Shall I come and shoot it?'. *ipaʾlaʾka kaʾəciŋ* 'Now indeed (in contrast to earlier time) I will eat you'. *kuðapa wənchaʾliðək asəkʹ* 'We in fact came here'. *uʾəcuntana* 'Yes, thus it will happen'.

Order 8 comprises *-ci* 'emphatic used by men'; *-təŋ* 'emphatic used by women'. There are a number of variant forms of *-ci*, including *-cai* and *-cəŋ*. Any one speaker tends to use only one form habitually, and an analysis of any one idiolect would probably reveal only one of these forms. These suffixes are not found very frequently in the material examined, though some speakers use them much more often than others. Examples: *asiʾna supay nukaʾaci* 'But this is a demon indeed'. *sakaʾtulantəŋ* 'You have worked' (when husband is ill and cannot).

68 The interjection and pause form. Occasionally some of the phonic material of the sentence is not allotted to any word of the sentence-type. The category of interjection is established and all such sequences of sounds are referred to this category. Interjections are not words since, phonologically, though they may be marked by stress, the stress pattern is not that of the word and, grammatically, they are not found with the morphological patterns or syntactic functions that all words show. The interjection should be distinguished from the pause form *maʾi* '. . . er . . .', which functions as a form which may substitute for the stem of any word class.

The pause form is treated as a word since, phonologically, it is marked by stress in the same way as the simple word and, grammatically, it has the same syntactic function and morphological pattern as the members of the other word classes. Thus it is found functioning as a verb stem, followed by verb extensors and one member of the inflectional paradigmatic series of verb suffixes, and in this form may function as the verbal head of a verbal piece. Similarly, it is found as a nominal stem of any sub-class, with the non-verbal suffixes exactly as described for the nominal in chapter eight, and entering into nominal phrases as described in section **553**. Similarly, it may be considered as an adverb or a participle. Very frequently when the pause form occurs it is followed by a word exhibiting a morphological structuring and having a syntactic function exactly similar to the pause form itself, in that particular occurrence. Examples: *maʔiwək-kək*[1] *piðəƙwəkkək*[2] *pandaʔa*[3]. STil—VP—VH (3 'let's go') VX (1, 2), VX—N (2 'to my house') PF (1 'to my . . . er . . .') 'Let's go to my . . . er . . . to my house'.

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Chapter Seven: The structure of the verb

71 Elements within the verb. The Jebero verb may comprise the following elements: expanding prefix, stem, extensor of the stem, inflectional suffix, and word suffix. Subsequent sections in this chapter will deal with these elements and state any limitations in the distribution of the various elements with each other.

In its minimum form the verb always comprises stem and one member of the class of inflectional suffixes. Every verb includes these two elements, irrespective of any other element that may be found. The maximum form for the verb is never found, since in its most expanded form the theoretical maximum would be a form comprising 5 expanding prefixes, one stem, which might comprise several morphemes, 16 extensors, 1 inflectional suffix, and 6 word suffixes. In fact, no such forms are found. Verbs comprising up to 10 morphemes are found, e.g. two prefixes, stem comprising two morphemes, three extensors, one inflectional suffix, and two word suffixes. Longer forms are very rare.

72 The verb stem.

721 Definition. The stem of a verb is that element which is not a member of any of the following closed series of affixes: expanding prefix, extensor, inflectional suffix, and word suffix.

722 Classes. Verb stems always include a nucleus element and may also include one or more satellite elements. There are three types of nucleus, and stems are divided into three classes on the basis of these types. Class I Verb stems are those whose nucleus is a verb root. Class II Verb stems are those whose nucleus is a nominal stem. Class III Verb stems are those whose nucleus is an adverb root. The satellite elements of verb stems will be described in conjunction with the different nuclei with which they are found. Examples: *paʔli paʔ-* VSI *-li* ViSx 'he went', *piðəǩwañi piðəǩwan-* VSII *-ñi* ViSx 'he has a house', *wəypuʔli wəypuʔ-* VSIII *-li* ViSx 'it is like something far away'.

723 Class I stems.

7231 Definition. All verb stems which consist of a verb root, with or without other elements, are verb root nucleus verb stems.

7232 Sub-classes. Class I stems are divided into a number of sub-classes according to their different nuclei and satellite elements.

Sub-class *a*: single root stem, comprises a single verb root without any other element. Any verb root of verb root Class I*a*, I*c*, I*d*, or III may be found in a I*a* verb stem (**7263**).

Sub-class *b*: suffixed root stem, comprises a verb root which is usually repeated two or more times and always followed by a member of the class I verb stem forming suffix series (**7292**). Any verb root of verb root class I*b* or I*c* may be found in a I*b* verb stem.

Sub-class *c*: double root stem, comprises two verb roots of different root classes, the first of which functions as nucleus and the second as satellite element, without any other element. The first verb root is a member of the root class I*d*, and the second verb root is a member of root classes II*b* or III*b* (**7263-5**).

Sub-Class *d*: prefixed root stem, comprises a verb root prefixed by a member of the verb stem forming prefix series (**728**). Any verb root of class II or III may occur in a 1*d* verb stem.

Sub-Class *e*: verb root and nominal root stem, comprises a nucleus which is a verb root followed by a nominal root in a satellite relationship. There may also be other satellite elements in these stems depending upon the type of verb root, since verb roots may or may not be prefixed, reduplicated, or doubled. The verb root in such stems may be of root classes I, II, or III but must be of root class A (**7266**). The nominal root is limited to those of class A nominal roots (**8266**). Sub-Class *e* may, therefore be regarded as an expansion of sub-classes *a*, *b*, *c*, and *d*, since any stems of these sub-classes may be paralleled by stems identical in every respect except that a nominal root is found in final position in the stem. Examples: *paʾli paʾ-* VSIa *-li* ViSx 'he went', *suʾ-suʾ-suʾ-aʾtapali suʾ-suʾ-suʾ-aʾt-* VSIb *-apa-* VE *-li* ViSx 'he made a sucking noise', *kəŕaðawaʾli kəŕaðawaʾ-* VXIc *-li* ViSx 'it is grey', *licikli licik-* VSId *-li* ViSx 'he straightened by hand', *anuʾðəǩli anuʾðəǩ-* VSIe *-li* ViSx 'he fell into the water'.

724 Class II stems.

7241 Definition. All verb stems which consist of a nominal stem followed by a verb stem forming suffix are nominal stem nucleus verb stems. Generally the nominal stem consists of a single nominal root, but any type of nominal stem may be found, including those whose nucleus is a verb stem. Furthermore, the nominal stem may be followed by a non-verbal suffix preceding the verb stem forming suffix.

7242 Sub-classes. Class I stems are divided into a number of sub-classes according to their different satellite elements.

Sub-class *a* stems comprise a nominal stem followed by a member of Class 2 of the verb stem forming suffixes (**7292**). Any nominal stem may occur in Class II*a* verb stems.

Sub-class *b* stems comprise a nominal stem followed by a Class 3*b* verb stem forming suffix. Only certain nominals occur in Class II*b* verb stems, i.e. nominals with roots of Class J (**8267**). A small number of II*b* verb stems comprise a non-verbal suffix in addition to the nominal stem and verb stem forming suffix. Only one member of the non-verbal suffixes is found, *-kək* 'at, by, on'; it always follows the nominal stem and precedes the verb stem forming suffix. Very few instances of this type of class IIb stem have been found.

Sub-class *c* stems comprise a nominal stem followed by a Class 3*a* verb stem forming suffix (**7292**). Any nominal stem may occur in class II*c* verb stems. Examples: *nanapuʾli nanapuʾ-* VSIIa *-li* ViSx 'he is like him', *tanluwatusik tanluwatu-* VSIIb *-sik* ViSx 'when it is windy', *kulikəŕwañi kulikəŕwan-* VSIIc *-ñi* ViSx 'he has money'.

725 Class III stems. All verb stems which comprise an adverb root followed by a verb stem forming suffix are adverb root nucleus verb stems. Example: *wəypuʾli wəypuʾ* VSIII *-li* ViSx 'it is like something far away'.

726 The verb root.

7261. Definition. Any part of a verb which cannot be sub-divided into further morphemes and which may occur, with or without reduplication or prefixation by a verb stem forming prefix, as a stem, is a verb root.

7262 Classes. Three sets of classes of verb roots are set up. Each set of classes is not a further sub-division of a previous division but a cross-classification at the same level as the other two sets. One set of three classes is established on the basis of the distribution of the roots with the verb stem forming prefix series (**7263** and **728**). This set is labelled I, II, and III and is further subdivided into I*a*, *b*, *c*, *d*, II*a*, *b*, III*a*, *b*. Another set of two classes is set up on the basis of the distribution of the roots with the nominal roots within the verb stem. This set is labelled A and B and is not further subdivided. The third set of two classes is established on the basis of the distribution of the roots within the nominal stem (**824**). This set is labelled X and Y and is not further sub-divided.

The three classes of root set up on the basis of the distribution of the roots with the verb stem forming prefix series are: class I, non-prefixed

roots; class II, obligatorily prefixed roots; class III, facultatively prefixed roots.

7263 Class I roots. All roots which are only found in verb stems without a member of the verb stem forming prefix series are members of this class.

Class I verb roots are divided into four sub-classes:

Sub-class *a*, single non-prefixed roots, always occur alone in stems, or with a nominal root. I*a* roots are found in class I*a* and I*e* verb stems.

Sub-class *b*, reduplicated non-prefixed roots, occur singly or reduplicated in stems with a class I stem forming suffix, with or without a nominal root, but with no other satellite elements within the verb stem. I*b* roots are found in class I*b* and I*e* verb stems only.

Sub-class *c*, single or reduplicated non-prefixed roots, occur either singly or reduplicated in stems of classes I*a*, I*b*, and I*e*. When occurring singly the distribution of class I*c* roots within the stem is the same as that of class I*a* roots, and when occurring reduplicated their distribution in the verb stem is identical with that of class I*b* roots.

Sub-class *d*, single or double non-prefixed roots, occur either singly or as the first root in double root stems. Roots of this sub-class are found in stems of classes I*a*, I*c*, or I*e*.

Examples: *pa²li pa²-* VRIa *-li* ViSx 'he went', *su²-su²-su²-a²tapali su²-* VRIb *-a²t-* VsSx *-apa-* VE *-li* ViSx 'he made a sucking noise', *a²fupali a²fu-* VRIc *-apa-* VE *-li* ViSx. 'he is sneezing', *pipəraðawa²li pipər-* VRId *aðawa²-* VRIIIb *-li* ViSx. 'it is light red'.

7264 Class II roots. All roots which never occur except either when prefixed by a member of the verb stem forming prefix series or as second root in a double root stem are members of this class.

Class II verb roots are divided into two sub-classes:

Sub-class *a*, comprises those roots which only occur with a member of the verb stem forming prefix series. Class II*a* roots are found in classes I*d* and I*e* verb stems.

Sub-class *b*, comprises those roots which may occur either prefixed by a member of the verb stem forming prefix series or as second root in a double root stem. Class II*b* roots are found in stems of classes I*c*, I*d*, or I*e*. Examples: *paðipərapali pa-* VsPx *-ðipər-* VRIIa *-apa* VE *-li* ViSx 'he is smoothing out', *kərkəɬapala kər-*VRId *-kəɬ-* VRIIb *-apa* VE *-la* ViSx 'you are finishing carrying', *likəɬapala li-* VsPx *-kəɬ-* VRIIb *-apa-* VE *-la* ViSx 'you are finishing cutting'.

7265 Class III roots. All roots which may occur either prefixed by a

member of the verb stem forming prefix series, as second root in a double root stem, or alone as a stem, are class III verb roots.

Class III verb roots are divided into two sub-classes:

Sub-class *a*, comprises those roots which are found either prefixed by a member of the verb stem forming prefix series or alone as stems. Class III*a* roots are found in stems of classes I*a*, I*d*, or I*e*.

Sub-class *b*, comprises those roots which are found prefixed by a member of the verb stem forming prefix series, or as second root in a double root stem, or alone as stems. Class III*b* roots are found in stems of classes I*a*, I*c*, I*d*, or I*e*. There are very few roots of this class. Examples: *səkkupinək səḱ-* VsPx *kupin-* VRIIIa *-nək* ViSx 'I enlarge by hand', *səḱmuŋkuñi səḱ-* VsPx *muŋkun-* VRIIIb *-ñi* ViSx 'he pressed into a ball'.

7266 Class A and B roots. The two classes of root set up on the basis of the distribution of the roots with nominal roots within the verb stem are: class A, comprising all roots which are found with nominal roots, and class B, comprising all roots which never occur with nominal roots.

Both these classes of root include roots of all three classes already described, classes I, II, and III and all their sub-classes. Class A roots are found in all class I verb stems, while class B roots are found in all class I stems except I*e*. Examples: *liʾðəḱli liʾ-* VRA *-ðəḱ* NR *-li* ViSx 'he saw the water', *naʾpila naʾpi-* VRB *-la* ViSx 'you answered'.

7267 Class X and Y roots. The two classes of root set up on the basis of the distribution of the roots with nominal roots within the nominal stem **(8242)** are Class X, comprising all roots which are found with nominal roots, and Class Y, comprising all roots which never occur with nominal roots.

Both these classes of roots include roots of all five classes already described, classes I, II, III, A, and B, and are found in verb stems of class I. Examples: *ifañi ifan-* VRX *-ñi* ViSx 'it is dried up' cf. *ifanwəkli* 'summer', *nəripali nəri-* VRX *-apa-*VE *-li* ViSx 'he is breathing' cf. *nəriðəḱ* 'breath', *kaʾləḱ kaʾ-* VRY *-ləḱ* ViSx 'I ate'.

728 Verb stem forming prefixes. Verb stem forming prefixes may be defined as those prefixes which are found immediately preceding a root of the verb root classes II or III; prefix and root forming a verb stem. These prefixes form a closed system of mutually exclusive members which may be listed exhaustively, as follows:

a-	'perform action with the foot, but not by kicking'
ðaŋ-	'action associated with entering'
ðaʾ-	'action performed by falling'
ðəḱ-	' „ „ „ pressing'

ðiŋ-	'action associated with one object crossing another'
ðuŋ-	' „ „ „ hunting'
əǩ-	'accompany an action'
i-	'action associated with thrusting one object behind or into another object'
in-	'reflexive action'
la-	'action performed by the teeth'
li-	' „ „ „ striking'
nu-	' „ „ without visible cause'
pa-	' „ „ by stabbing'
paða²-	' „ „ „ throwing'
paŋ-	' „ „ „ a brushing motion'
pək-	' „ „ with considerable force'
pi-	' „ „ by hand using the palm of the hand'
sək-	' „ „ „ „ „ „ fingers and thumb'
su²-	' „ „ „ rubbing'
tək-	the meaning of this prefix is indefinite, but it is connected with actions done a good deal
tu²-	'action performed by kicking'
u-	' „ „ „ pulling'
wi-	' „ „ „ embracing'.

The meanings assigned to each prefix may be regarded as provisional. While they cover examples in the texts collected, some of the prefixes do not occur very frequently. More extended material might well add to or alter in some way the meanings assigned to these prefixes.

This list may be regarded as an exhaustive list of this series of stem forming prefixes, and though possibly one or two additions to it might be made with more Jebero material, it does seem clear that it cannot be extended indefinitely or to any extent in contrast to the class of roots already described. This series of prefixes is, in fact, a closed system.

This inner layer class of verb stem forming prefixes may be contrasted with the outer layer class of verb expanding prefixes described in section 75. Whereas the stem forming prefixes function as elements within the verb stem, the verb expanding prefixes are not part of the verb stem but always precede it. Furthermore, whereas verb forms are found with two or more members of the verb expanding class of prefixes, no forms are found with more than one member of the stem forming prefixes, since the members of this class constitute one closed system with mutually exclusive members. Examples: *paðipərapali pa-* VsPx *-ðipər-* VR *-apa-* VE *-li* ViSx 'he is smoothing out'. Compare the following forms with the same verb root: *-ðipər-*: *piðipərapali, tu²ðipərapali, təkðipərapali, ðəǩðipərapali, liðipərapali, aðipərapali, səǩðiperapali, su²ðipərapali.* All these words describe the action of arranging something, the different prefixes giving a more specific meaning.

729 Verb stem forming suffixes.

7291 Definition. Verb stem forming suffixes may be defined as those suffixes which are found either immediately following a verb, nominal, or adverb root (suffix and root forming a verb stem), or immediately following a nominal root and non-verbal suffix (nominal root, non-verbal suffix, and verb stem forming suffix together forming a verb stem).

7292 Classes. Classes of verb stem forming suffix are established according to the class of root with which they occur. Three classes are set up.

Class 1. Class 1 comprises suffixes which are always found with a verb root. There are two members of this class: *-aʔtu-* ~ *-aʔt-*, *-tu-* ~ *-t-*: *-aʔtu-* and *-tu-* are found before morphemes with C initial structure, *-aʔt-* and *-t-* before morphemes with V initial structure. It is not possible to state any translation meaning for these two suffixes. They function in a similar way, though it is noticeable that the form *-aʔtu-* has a sort of causative meaning frequently. It is interesting to note the correlation with the verb expanding prefix, *aʔ-* 'causative'. Syntactically these two elements, the one a prefix and the other a suffix, are quite different. The two affixes are never found in one verb.

Class 2 (derivational). Class 2 comprises suffixes which are found with either a nominal or an adverb root. There is one member of this class: *-puʔ-* 'to be like . . .'.

Class 3 (derivational). Class 3 comprises suffixes which are found with a nominal root only. There are two sub-classes of this class. Sub-class 3*a* is found with any nominal root and comprises the suffix, *-wan-* 'to be in possession of . . .'. Sub-class 3*b* is found with only certain nominal roots, i.e. roots of class J (**8267**), and comprises the suffix *-tu-* ~ *-t-*, *-tu-* is found before morphemes with C initial structure and *-t-* before morphemes with V initial structure. No translation meaning may be assigned to this suffix.

The three classes of suffix fall into two groups, one group being derivational in character and the other not. Suffixes of class 1 are not derivational whereas suffixes of classes 2 and 3 are derivational. Examples: *nanapuʔli nana-* NR *-puʔ-* VsSx2 *-li* ViSx 'he is like him', *tanluwatusik tanluwa-* NRJ *-tu-* VsSx3b *-sik* ViSx 'when it is windy', *məŋmiwanək məŋmi-* NR *-wan-* VsSx3a *-nək* ViSx 'I have a chacra'.

73 Verb extensors.

731 Definition. Any verb, in addition to comprising the obligatory

elements of stem and one member of the inflectional suffix series, may also include one or more suffixes of the series called 'extensors'.[1]

Any suffix which occurs as an element of any verb and (*a*) never occurs in final position in the verb and (*b*) always is found immediately following the verb stem and immediately preceding the member of the verb inflectional suffix series, is a verb extensor. These suffixes could also be defined by exhaustive listing.

This group of suffixes must be distinguished from the group of suffixes called verb inflectional suffixes (**74**). The chief differences are that whereas (*a*) one member of the inflectional series is found in every verb, many verbs do not include any member of the extensor series, (*b*) only one member of the inflectional series is found as part of any verb, more than one extensor is often found, (*c*) any member of the inflectional series may be final in the word, no extensor is ever found final in the word.

732 Classes. Certain extensors may occur with some other extensors but not with others. This limitation in the distribution of the extensors is the basis for their grouping into classes. Furthermore the different extensors, when found with a second extensor, occur in a certain fixed order relative to each other, so that it is convenient to number the classes of extensor according to this relative sequence of distribution. The different classes of extensor are termed 'orders'; see section **672** for the use of this term. The numbers given the orders of extensors in the next section indicate their usual sequence in relation to each other. In some instances the sequence is not fixed and in such cases the numbering reflects the most usual sequence, while a statement is made to cover other possible sequences in the paragraphs dealing with the particular orders affected.

[1] This term is used because the function of these suffixes is to extend the stem. It is not particularly helpful to label this group of suffixes as either derivational or inflectional, since the group does not fit into any of the usual distinctions between derivation and inflection. On the one hand these suffixes are derivational in that verbs comprising extensors have the same syntactic valence as verbs similar in every other respect but without extensors, for these more complex forms including one or more extensors function in the sentence very much as simpler forms without extensors. However, even this is not completely clear cut; the extensor of order 18, *-ðək-*, has syntactic implications, since the object of verbs comprising this extensor is never first or second person or third person singular. On the other hand these suffixes have some characteristics which suggest inflection. One of the criteria for inflectional as against derivational elements is that inflectional elements tend to occur with a larger number of forms than derivational ones. This group of suffixes occurs with a very large number of stems—in fact all stems except for collocational limitations. In this respect their distribution is as extensive as that of the inflectional suffixes treated in **74**, whose status as inflectional is not in any doubt. Instead, therefore, of labelling these suffixes as derivational or inflectional, the term extensor has been applied to them.

Any extensor may occur with any verb stem unless there are collocational limitations. Members of any order may occur with a member of another or of several other orders except where stated below in the next section. In principle, a verb may comprise any possible combination of the orders, subject to the limitations in the distribution of some orders with certain other orders. Since there are 19 orders of extensor, theoretically, verb forms may contain a large number of extensors. However, in the material examined, whereas verb forms containing one or two extensors are very common, forms with three or four extensors are infrequent and forms with five or more extensors are very rare. Longer forms with a larger number of extensors were elicited from the informant, who accepted them and repeated them as good Jebero. But such longer forms were never heard unelicited or found in text material, and it is probable that though they violated no structural principle and were thus acceptable to the informant they are not in fact in current use by Jebero speakers. Up to 7 extensors were accepted in this way in a form like *əncunlapitapakuñuntaiʾmpuʾðəkli*, which has the meaning 'he is not again going and cutting them leaving someone behind.' It was noticeable that older speakers tended to use extensors more than younger speakers; the influence of Spanish may account for this.

Except where otherwise stated the extensors are found with any member of the inflectional suffixes and any member of the word suffixes.

The 19 orders of extensor are listed below and the following details concerning each order are given: (*a*) its membership; (*b*) any relevant comment with regard to its distribution with verb stems; (*c*) any relevant details regarding its distribution with other orders, in particular, (i) any other order which is always found with the particular order being treated, i.e. any other order which the occurrence of the particular order presupposes but not necessarily vice versa, (ii) any other order which never occurs with the particular order, i.e. which the occurrence of the particular order excludes, (iii) any variation from the sequence of distribution with other orders which the number of the order indicates; (*d*) any relevant details regarding its distribution with members of the inflectional suffix series; (*e*) some examples.

Order 1 comprises *-wili* 'by night'. There are extensive collocational limitations to the distribution of this extensor with verb stems. In every verb form where this extensor occurs, an extensor of order 5 is found. Order 1 is never found with orders 3, 4, or 13a. E.g., *paʾwilituli paʾ-* VS *-wili-* VE1 *-tu-* VE5 *-li* ViSx. 'he walked at night', *ðəǩsamərwilitulək ðəǩsamər-* VS *-wili-* VE1 *-tu-* VE5 *-lək* ViSx. 'I fished at night'.

Order 2 comprises *-lapi-* 'leave behind', *-paʾ-* 'help another'. Order 2 is

never found with order 4. Order 2 may precede or follow order 15. E.g., *ama²lapili ama²-* VS *-lapi-* VE2 *-li* ViSx. 'he bathed, having left someone', *təra²pa²nunta²li təra²-* VS *-pa²* VE2 *-nunta²-* VElO *-li* ViSx. 'he helped plant again'.

Order 3 comprises, *-ðinu-* 'think of doing, or do slightly'. There are extensive collocational limitations to the distribution of this extensor with verb stems, and verb forms comprising this order are only very infrequent in the material examined. Order 3 is never found with orders 1, 6, 8, 9, 11, 12, or 13. Order 3 may precede or follow order 15. E.g., *iyatəǩka²ðinuli iya-* VePx *-təǩka²-* VS *-ðinu-* VE3 *-li* ViSx. 'he thought of running'.

Order 4 comprises, *-wa-* 'motion towards', *-i-* 'do something for another person'. Order 4 is always found with order 5. Order 4 is never found with orders 1 and 2. Order 4 may precede or follow order 15. E.g., *pipəǩwatulək pipəǩ-* VS *-wa-* VE4 *-tu-* VE5 *-lək* ViSx. 'I carried towards', *akui²tukəla aku²-* VS *-i-* VE4 *-tu-* VE5 *-kər-* VE9 *-la* ViSx. 'you placed something for someone', *pa²watuli pa²-* VS *-wa-* VE4 *-tu-* VE5 *-li* ViSx. 'he went towards'.

Order 5 comprises *-tu-* ~ *-t-* 'definitive', *-t-* is found preceding V initial suffixes, *-tu-* preceding C initial suffixes. This order is one of those most frequently occurring, being found with numerous stems, with many other extensors, and with every inflectional suffix. Order 5 may precede or follow order 15. E.g. *kanantəcək kanan-* VS *-t-* VE5 *-əcək* ViSx 'I will find out', *saka²tupaciŋ saka²-* VS *-tu-* VE5 *-paciŋ* ViSx 'if you work'.

Order 6 comprises *-ʃa-* 'diminutive'. Order 6 is never found with order 3. E.g., *saka²tuʃala saka²-* VS *-tu-* VE5 *-ʃa-* VE6 *-la* ViSx 'you are working a little'.

Order 7 comprises *-apa-* 'continuative'. This order is one of the most frequently occurring orders, being found with numerous stems, with many other extensors, and with every inflectional suffix. Order 7 may precede or follow orders 15 and 19b. E.g., *təǩka²palək təǩka²-* VS *-apa-* VE7 *-lək* ViSx. 'I am running', *pa²watapilaŋ pa²-* VS *-wa-* VE4 *-t-* VE5 *-apa-* VE7 *-ila-* VE8 *-ŋ* ViSx 'going towards'.

Order 8 comprises *-ila-* 'action when passing on an outward journey', *-ilər-* ~ *-ir-* 'action when passing on an inward journey', *-ir-* occurs after the extensor *-apa-*, *-ilər-* occurs elsewhere. Order 8 may precede or follow orders 15 and 19b. Order 8 is sub-divided into two sub-classes on the basis of its distribution with other extensors. 8*a* comprises *-ila-*, 8*b* comprises *-ilər-*. Order 8*a* is never found with order 9*b* and order 8*b* is never found with order 9*a*. Order 8 is never found with orders 3 and 9*c*. E.g., *ilampila-lina² ilan-* VS *-apa-* VE7 *-ila-* VE8a *-lina²* ViSx. 'they are shooting', *əktu²piraŋ əktu²-* VS *-apa-* VE7 *-ir-* VE8b *-aŋ* ViSx 'he having arrived'.

Order 9 comprises *-unta²-* 'going away from the speaker on a return journey', *-ənca²-* 'coming towards the speaker on a return journey', *-kun-* 'going away from the speaker on an outward journey', *-kər-* 'coming towards the speaker on an outward journey'. Order 9 is sub-divided into three sub-classes on the basis of its distribution with other extensors, as follows: 9*a* comprises *-unta²-*, 9*b* comprises *-ənca²-*, 9*c* comprises *-kun-* and *-kər-*. Order 9 is not found with order 3. Order 9*a* is not found with orders 8*b* and 10, and order 9*b* is not found with orders 8*a* and 10. Order 9*c* is not found with order 8. Order 9 may precede or follow orders 14, 15, and 19*b*. E.g., *kapərunta²lu kapər-* VS *-unta²-* VE9 *-lu* ViSx. 'he went and met me', *təkkə²nca²la təkka²-* VS *-ənca²-* VE9 *-la* ViSx. 'you came and ran'.

Order 10 comprises *-nunta²-* 'repetitive'. Order 10 is never found with orders 9*a* and 9*b*. Order 10 may precede or follow orders 14, 15, and 19. E.g. *ka²panunta²ŋ ka²-* VS *-apa* VE7 *-nunta²-* VE10 *-aŋ* ViSx. 'eating again . . .'.

Order 11 comprises *-sa²la-* 'rapidly'. Order 11 is never found with order 3. Order 11 may precede or follow orders 14, 15 and 19*b*. E.g., *wiwəksa²-lakər wiwək-* VS *-sa²la-* VE11 *-kər* ViSx. 'hurry quickly!'

Order 12 comprises *-cin-* 'habitual, regularly'. This order occurs only infrequently. Order 12 is never found with orders 3 and 13*a*. Order 12 may precede or follow orders 14, 15, and 19*b*. E.g., *ama²pacinək ama²-* VS *-apa-* VE7 *-cin-* VE12 *-nək* ViSx. 'I am bathing as usual'.

Order 13 comprises *-lau²cin-* 'very much', *-la²pi²-* 'without knowledge', *-la²-* 'only', *-pi²-* 'in vain'. Order 13 is sub-divided into two classes on the basis of its distribution with other orders, as follows: 13*a* comprises *-lau²cin-*, 13*b* comprises the remaining members of this order. Order 13 is never found with order 3, and order 13*a* is never found with orders 1 and 12. Order 13 may precede or follow orders 14, 15, and 19*b*. E.g., *ka²lau²ciñi ka²-* VS *-lau²cin-* VE13 *-ñi* ViSx. 'he ate very much', *iyaməla²li iyamər-* VS *-la²* VE13 *-li* ViSx. 'he only laughed'.

Order 14 comprises *-ku²-* 'person concerned now dead'. Order 14 may precede or follow orders 8 to 13, 15, and 19*b*. E.g., *təkka²ku²li təkka²-* VS *-ku.-* VE14 *-li* ViSx. 'he (now dead) ran'.

Order 15 comprises *-misan-* 'all the same . . .'. Order 15 is never found with inflectional suffixes which are singular in number category. Order 15 may precede or follow orders 2 to 14 and 19*b*. E.g., *ka²misañina² ka²-* VS *-misan-* VE15 *-ñina²* ViSx. 'They all ate'.

Order 16 comprises *-ða-* 'poor person'. This order is found very infrequently in the material examined. Order 16 may precede and follow order 19*b*. E.g., *a²ka²ðala a²-* VePx *-ka²-* VS *-ða-* VE16 *-la* ViSx 'you made someone poor eat'.

Order 17 comprises *-win-* 'in vain, almost'. Order 17 precedes or follows order 19*b*. E.g., *wəŕwinəkwaˀ wəŕ-* VS *-win-* VE17 *-nəkwaˀ* ViSx. 'we were almost lost'.

Order 18 comprises *-ðək-* 'them (object)'. Order 18 precedes or follows order 19*b*. Order 18 is never found with suffixes of the class B inflectional suffixes. E.g., *pəƙluˀpawinðəkaŋ pəƙluˀ-* VS *-apa-* VE7 *-win-* VE17 *-ðək-* VE18 *-aŋ* ViSx. 'calling them in vain'.

Order 19 comprises *-iˀn-* 'negative', *-impuˀ-* 'negative'. Order 19 is divided into two classes on the basis of its distribution with the other extensors and with the suffixes of the inflectional series, as follows: Order 19*a* comprises *-i.n-* and 19*b* comprises *-impuˀ-*. Order 19*b* may follow or precede orders 7 to 18. Order 19*a* is never found with inflectional suffixes of paradigms, 4, 5, 7, 11, and 12; whereas 19*b* is found with all members of the inflectional series of suffixes. E.g., *ilampiˀñi ilan-* VS *-apa-* VE7 *iˀn-* VE19*a* *-ñi* ViSx. 'he was not shooting', *nantapimpuˀaŋ nanta-* VS *-apa-* VE7 *-impuˀ-* VE19*b* *-aŋ* ViSx. 'not having strength'.

74 The verb inflectional suffix.

741 Definition. Every verb, in addition to containing a stem, includes one member of the verb inflectional suffix series, and only one member. These suffixes thus make up one large mutually exclusive class of suffixes. Any suffix which occurs as an element of a verb and is found final in the verb or followed only by one or more suffixes of the word suffix class is a verb inflectional suffix. This group of suffixes can also be established by exhaustive listing.

742 Classes. All inflectional suffixes fall into one of two classes, unipersonal suffixes and bipersonal suffixes. These two classes constitute two series of parallel suffixes, both of which will be described in turn. These two classes are labelled A and B respectively.

743 Class A.

7431 Definition. Any inflectional suffix which has the potentiality of occurrence with order 18 of the verb extensors is a member of the class A series of suffixes.

7432 Class A paradigms. The different suffixes of class A form a series of paradigms. Each paradigm has eight members, except paradigms 11 and 12, which comprise six and four members respectively. Exponents of tense, person, and number, whether realized cumulatively or serially, may be abstracted from the class A unipersonal suffixes, except that there is no

overt exponent of number with the singular forms. The grouping of class A suffixes into paradigms may be formally justified in that the members of each paradigm share a common exponent of tense and at the same time are mutually exclusive as regards the exponents of the categories of person and number. Each paradigm comprises eight members, each with concord with a different pronoun, except paradigms 11 and 12.

Another reason for setting up the unipersonal and bipersonal suffixes in paradigms is that in this way it is possible to make statements covering the distribution of the suffixes in the different sentence-types and clauses. The members of each paradigm function similarly in the various sentence-types and clauses. Thus in Chapters IV and V the distribution of the inflectional suffixes in the different sentence-types and clauses has been stated by referring to the paradigms. It is found that the paradigms fall into two main groups which can be labelled subordinative and non-subordinative. The subordinative group consists of paradigms 8-10, which are never found as verbal head of the verbal piece of a favourite sentence. The non-subordinative group consists of paradigms 1-7, 11, and 12, which are found as verbal head of the verbal piece of a favourite sentence.

Members of some paradigms occur much more frequently than members of other paradigms. In order of frequency, members of paradigm 1 are found most commonly, then 10 and 2, followed by 8, 11, and 12, then much less commonly 6, 7, and 9, while 3, 4, and 5 are only found very infrequently. Within paradigms 1-10, the persons are listed in the following order: first person exclusive singular, first person inclusive singular, second person singular, third person singular, first person exclusive plural, first person inclusive plural, second person plural, and third person plural. In paradigm 11 the same order is followed except that there are no first person exclusive forms, and in paradigm 12 there are no first person inclusive or exclusive forms.

Paradigm 1 'actual or non-future': *-lək*, *-lək*, *-la*, *-li*, *-liðək*, *-ləkwaˀ*, *-lamaˀ*, *-linaˀ*. This series has a parallel series of phonologically determined allomorphs, namely, *-nək*, *-nək*, *-na*, *-ñi*, *-ñiðək*, *-nəkwaˀ*, *namaˀ*, *-ñinaˀ*, which are found when the preceding syllable contains a final nasal. Examples: *tupilək tupi-* VS *-lək* ViSxl. 'I followed'; *waˀtəŋñi watəŋ-* VS *-ñi* ViSxl. 'He waited'.

Paradigm 2 'future or non-actual': *-əcək*, *-atər*, *-əcu*, *-əcuŋ*, *-əciðək*, *-atərwaˀ*, *-əcumaˀ*, *-əcunaˀ*. Example: *tupicək tupi-* VS *-əcək* ViSx2. 'I will follow'.

Paradigm 3 'unfulfilled wish': *-aˀka*, *-aˀka*, *-aˀma*, *-aˀa*, *-aˀkuðək*, *-aˀkawaˀ*, *-aˀmamaˀ*, *-ərka*. Examples: *tupiˀka tupi-* VS *-aˀka* ViSx3.

'I would have followed but didn't . . . (I wanted to but couldn't)', *waʾtəŋaʾma waʾtəŋ-* VS *-aʾma* ViSx3. 'You didn't wait though you wanted to'.

Paradigm 4 'desiderative': *-inaʾka, -inaʾka, -inaʾma, -inaʾa, -inaʾkuðək, -inaʾkawaʾ, -inaʾmamaʾ, -inəŕka.* Examples: *nuŋ ñinaʾa nuŋ* N, *ñi-* VS *inaʾa* ViSx4. 'Would there was a canoe', *waʾtəŋinəŕka waʾtəŋ-* VS *-inəŕka* ViSx4. 'Would they would wait'.

Paradigm 5 'obligative': *-piʾnaǩ, -piʾnaǩ, -piʾnaǩma, -piʾnaǩ, -pinaǩkuðək, -piʾnaǩwaʾ, -piʾnaǩmamaʾ, -piʾnəŕkək.* Examples: *tupipiʾnaǩ tupi-* VS *-piʾnaǩ* ViSx5. 'I should have climbed', *waʾtəŋpiʾnaǩma waʾtəŋ-* VS *-piʾnaǩma* ViSx5. 'You should have waited'.

Paradigm 6 'conditional': *-nansəku, -nansuʾ-, -nansiŋ, -suʾ, -nansəkuðək, -nansuʾwaʾ, -nansiŋmaʾ, nantaʾsəŕ.* Examples: *tupinansəku tupi-* VS *-nansəku* ViSx6. 'I would follow (if . . .)', *lansaʾnansuʾwaʾ lansaʾ-* VS *-nansuʾwaʾ* ViSx6. '(if you played) we would dance'.

Paradigm 7 'subjunctive': *-atəku, -atək, -aciŋ, -aci, -atəkuðək, -atəkwaʾ, -aciŋmaʾ, -acinaʾ.* Examples: *tupitəku tupi-* VS *-atəku* ViSx7. 'If I follow', *waʾtəŋaciŋ waʾtəŋ-* VS *-aciŋ* ViSx7. 'If you wait'.

Paradigm 8 'durative': *-aʾsəku, -aʾsik, -aʾsiŋ, -sik, -aʾsəkuðək, -aʾsikwaʾ, -aʾsiŋmaʾ, -aʾsəŕ.* Examples: *nampəǩaʾsəku nampək-* VS *-aʾsəku* ViSx8. 'While I climbed', *waʾtəŋaʾsiŋ waʾtəŋ-* VS *-aʾsiŋ* ViSx8. 'While you wait'.

Paradigm 9 'intermittent action': *-səku, -sik, -siŋ, -suʾ, -səkuðək, -sikwaʾ, -siŋma, -aʾsəŕ.* Examples: *tupisəku tupi-* VS *-səku* ViSx9. 'When I followed', *sakaʾtusiŋ sakaʾ-* VS *-tu-* VE *-siŋ* ViSx9. 'When you worked'.

Paradigm 10 'participle': *-amu, -ak, -aŋ, -amuðək, -akwaʾ, -aŋmaʾ, aŋna.* Examples: *piləŋamu piləŋ-* VS *-amu* ViSx10. 'Advising . . .', *nakumu naku-* VS *amu* ViSx10. 'Passing . . .'.

Paradigm 11 'imperative': *-a, -kəŕ, -i, -awaʾ, -kuʾ, -ina.* Examples: *nampəǩa nampək-* VS *-a* ViSx11.[1] 'Let's climb!', *waʾtəŋkəŕ waʾtəŋ-* VS *kəŕ* ViSx11. 'Wait!'.

Paradigm 12 'Negative imperative': *-ta, -paci, -tamaʾ, -pacinaʾ.* Examples: *ðəŋmata ðəŋma-* VS *-ta* ViSx12. 'Don't fight', *piləŋpacinaʾ piləŋ-* VS *-pacinaʾ* ViSx12. 'Don't let them advise'.

7433 Exponents of tense, person, and number. Exponents of tense, person, and number may be abstracted from all the class A inflectional suffixes, except that there is no overt exponent of number in the singular forms of the paradigms. These exponents are realized sometimes serially and sometimes cumulatively. Furthermore these exponents are not to be regarded as exhausting the particular suffix from which they are abstracted, as if the sum of the exponents was equivalent to the suffix. Thus, for example, from the suffix *-li* of paradigm 1, an exponent of tense, *l*, and an

exponent of person, *i*, is abstracted, but the feature of *y*-prosody with its phonetic exponent of palatalization is not allocated to any exponent. This feature is stated for the suffix *-li* as a whole. Neither *l* nor *i* is regarded as a syllable, but merely as a convenient symbol for phonetic features which are similar to the phonetic features symbolized by the transcription. It should be emphasized that these exponents are not morphemes. Each inflectional suffix is regarded as one morpheme, not as several, as would be the case if these exponents of tense, person, and number were each regarded as morphemes.

74331 Exponents of tense. The exponents of tense may be set out for each paradigm in turn as follows:

Paradigm 1. *l* ~ *n*, *l* alternates phonologically with *n*, the latter being found as exponent only when the preceding syllable has a final nasal phonematic unit or prosodic feature, the former being found elsewhere.

Paradigm 2. *ɔc* ~ *at*, *ɔc* alternates morphologically with *at*, the latter being found only with the first inclusive form.

Paradigm 3. *aˀ*; 4. *inaˀ*; 5. *piˀnaǩ*. In third plural forms the open vowel of each of these exponents is not found but a central vowel is found.

Paradigm 6. *nans* ~ *s* ~ *nantaˀs*, *nantaˀs* being found with the third plural form, *s* being found with the third singular form and *nans* being found elsewhere.

Paradigm 7. *at*.

Paradigm 8. *aˀs* ~ *s*, *s* being found as exponent only with the third singular form.

Paradigm 9. *s* ~ a*ˀs*, *aˀs* being found only with the third plural form.

Paradigm 10. *a*.

Paradigms 11 and 12. It is not possible to state separate exponents of tense for paradigms 11 and 12, since these exponents are cumulative with the exponents of person and number.

74332 Exponents of person. The category of person has four members. Each of the paradigms already given has included 8 members, i.e., a singular and plural form for each of the four persons. However, it is possible to abstract from the verb inflectional suffixes separate exponents of the categories person and number, and when this is done it is found that the exponents of the four persons when the category of number is plural and when the category of number is singular, while not identical, show very many parallels. All the exponents of person are, therefore, stated for singular forms and only the variations with the plural forms are

given. It may be assumed that the category of person is realized with the same exponent with both singular and plural forms unless the contrary is stated.

The four persons are first exclusive, first inclusive, second, and third. The first person inclusive is inclusive of the person speaking and the person addressed, and is, thus, notionally a dual form translated in English by 'we'; whereas the first person exclusive is exclusive of the person addressed.

The exponents of person may be stated as: First exclusive: Paradigms 1-4, 6-9: velar closure, preceded by central vowel in paradigms 1, 2, 6-9, followed by open vowel in paradigms 3 and 4, followed by back vowel in paradigms 6-9. Paradigm 5: No overt exponent. Paradigm 10: Bilabial nasal followed by back vowel. Paradigms 1-2: With plural forms, front vowel. Paradigms 3-5: With plural forms, velar closure followed by back vowel.

First inclusive: Paradigms 1, 3, 4, 7-10: Velar closure, preceded by central vowel in 1 and 7, preceded by front vowel in 8 and 9, followed by open vowel in 3 and 4. Paradigm 2: Central vowel and alveolar flap. Paradigm 5: No overt exponent. Paradigm 6: Back vowel and glottal stop. Paradigms 11 and 12: Cumulative with number and tense.

Second: Paradigms 3-10: Nasal closure, bilabial and followed by open vowel in 3-5, velar and preceded by front vowel in 6-9, velar in 10. Paradigm 1: Open vowel. Paradigm 2: Back vowel. Paradigms 11 and 12: Cumulative with number and tense.

Third: Paradigms 1, 7, and 8: Front vowel, followed by velar closure in 8. Paradigms 2, 6, and 9: Back vowel followed by nasal closure in 2, followed by glottal closure in 6 and 9. Paradigms 3, 4: Open vowel. Paradigm 5: No overt exponent. Paradigm 10: Velar nasal closure. Paradigms 11 and 12: Cumulative with number and tense. Paradigms 3-6: 8, 9: With plural forms, when cumulative with number, central vowel, alveolar flap, and glottal closure, followed by velar closure and open vowel in 3 and 4, followed by velar closure, central vowel, and velar closure in 5.

74333 Exponents of number. The category of number has two members, singular and plural. There is no overt exponent of the category of singular throughout the verb inflectional series.

The exponent of plural may be stated as, *waˀ* ~ *ðək* ~ *maˀ* ~ *naˀ*. *ðək* occurs when the category of person is first exclusive, *waˀ* occurs when the category of person is first inclusive, *maˀ* occurs when the category of person is second person, except for paradigm 11 when exponents of tense,

person, and number are cumulative and *na²* occurs when the category of person is third person; except also in paradigms 3, 4, 5, 8, and 9, when the exponents of person and number are cumulative.

It should be noted that the category of singular in Jebero is not a notional category, but a formal one. It does, in fact, include one member, the first inclusive. which would not be accepted notionally as singular, since the first inclusive has reference to two persons, the person speaking and the person addressed.

744 Class B. Class B inflectional suffixes are suffixes comprising exponents of five categories, either cumulatively or serially in the following sequence: tense, person and number (subject), person and number (object), except that there is no overt exponent of number in singular forms.

Whenever in sentences which contain a bipersonal verb there is a nominal functioning as subject (**4424**), as is the case for all sentences of class STII, there is agreement of person and number between that nominal and the exponents of the first place person and number of the bipersonal suffix. Similarly, whenever in sentences which contain a bipersonal verb there is a nominal functioning as object (**555**), which is only rarely the case, there is agreement of person and number between that nominal and the exponents of the second place person and number of the bipersonal suffix.

7441 Definition. Any inflectional suffix which never occurs with order 18 of the verb extensors is a member of the class B series of suffixes.

7442 Class B paradigms. Class B suffixes are arranged in a number of paradigms in the same way as class A suffixes. Each paradigm has in common an exponent of tense, while the exponents of person and number are mutually exclusive within each paradigm. The exponents of tense in class B paradigms are parallel to the exponents of tense in class A paradigms and the numbering of class B paradigms reflects this similarity of form. Thus the exponent of tense in class B paradigm 2 is parallel to the exponent of tense in class A paradigm 2. Though there are some similarities, the categories of person required for the statement of the class B paradigms are not identical with the categories of person required for the class A paradigms. Whereas the class A paradigms require a system of four persons, the class B paradigms require two systems of person, each with three members. One system is set up for the category of person (subject) and the other for the category of person (object). The former comprises the following three members, first (exclusive), second, and

third. The latter comprises the following three members, first exclusive, first inclusive, and second. These two systems have points of similarity with the four term system of the class A paradigms with first exclusive, first inclusive, second, and third, but the systems are clearly not identical. For the purpose of comparison it is convenient to label the persons of the class B paradigms in a similar manner to the persons of the class A paradigms, first exclusive singular, first inclusive singular, etc. (**74332**).

Only the following combinations of persons are found: first exclusive singular, followed by either second singular or plural; second singular followed by either first exclusive singular or plural; third singular followed by first exclusive singular, first inclusive singular, second singular, first exclusive plural, first inclusive plural, or second plural; first exclusive plural followed by either second singular or plural; second plural followed by either first exclusive singular or plural; third plural followed by first exclusive singular, first inclusive singular, second singular, first exclusive plural, first inclusive plural, or second plural. These are the only combinations that occur. Some combinations are naturally impossible for situational reasons. For instance, it is scarcely possible to conceive of a situation in which the first inclusive forms could be subject and the first exclusive and second persons could be object, or vice versa, e.g. 'We (inclusive) saw me' or, 'you saw us (inclusive)'. There are similar situational limitations with the first exclusive. Even where there are gaps in the series of forms for combinations which are situationally possible, this does not mean that there are gaps in the language or that there are no equally convenient ways of saying, for example, 'I hit myself' or 'he saw them'. These formal gaps are covered by a number of other structures, as follows: (*a*) Reciprocal-reflexive form of the verb. This is the form containing the prefix *in-* 'reciprocal-reflexive' (**753**); e.g. *insəkitulək* 'I hid myself'. (*b*) The extensor *-ðək-* 'them'. This covers all combinations involving third plural as second place person (object) e.g. *səkituðəklək* 'I hid them'. (*c*) The third singular as second place person (object) may be considered as zero. All unipersonal forms may be considered to have a third person singular object unless otherwise indicated grammatically by an (object) nominal of a different person and number, or unless situationally inapplicable. It will be seen that these three structures account for all the gaps which are not situationally impossible.

In listing the members of the paradigms the order of the combinations of persons given above will be followed for paradigms 1-10; i.e. first exclusive singular followed by second singular, then first exclusive singular followed by second plural, then second singular followed by first exclusive singular, etc. In paradigms 11 and 12 the same order is followed except

that there are no forms involving first person exclusive in first place (subject).

Paradigm 1: *-ləŋ, -ləŋma, -łu, -łuŋkuðək, -łu, -ləŋmu, -ləŋ, -łuŋkuðək, -ləŋmuʾwaʾ, -ləŋmaʾ, -liðəŋ, -liðəŋmaʾ, -lamauʾku, -lamauʾkuðək, -linəŕku, -linəŕkəŋmuʾ, -linəŕkəŋ, -linəŕkuðək, -linəŕkəŋmuʾwaʾ, -linəŕkəŋmaʾ.*

Paradigm 2: *-əŕkəŋ, -əŕkəŋmaʾ, -əcuŋku, -əcuŋkuðək, -əcuŋku, -əcuŋmuʾ, -əcəŋ, -əcuŋkuðək, -əcuŋmuʾwaʾ, -əcəŋmaʾ, -əciðəŋ, -əciðəŋmaʾ, -əcumauʾku, -əcumauʾkuðək, -əcunəŕku, -əcunəŕkəŋmuʾ, -əcunəŕkəŋ, -əcunəŕkuðek, -əcunəŕkəŋmuʾwaʾ, -əcunəŕkəŋmaʾ, -əcunəŕkəŋmaʾ.*

Paradigm 3: *-aʾŋ, -aʾŋmaʾ, -aʾmu, -aʾmuðək, -aʾku, -aʾŋmuʾ, -aʾŋ, -aʾŋkuðək, -aʾŋmuʾwaʾ, -aʾŋmaʾ, -aʾkuðəŋ, aʾkuðəŋmaʾ, -aʾmamauʾku, -aʾmamauʾkuðək, -əŕku, -əŕkəŋmu, -əŕkəŋ, -əŕkuðək, -əŕkəŋmuʾwaʾ, -əŕkəŋmaʾ.*

Paradigm 4: is identical with paradigm 3 except for the exponent of tense, which in both paradigms is the same as in class A paradigms. Examples of Class B forms of paradigm 4 are given to illustrate the complete parallel with paradigm 3 forms, apart from the different tense exponent. *-inaʾŋ, -inaʾŋmaʾ, -inaʾmu, -inaʾmuðək,* etc.

Paradigm 5: *-pinaƙəŋ, -piʾnaƙəŋmaʾ, -piʾnaƙku, -piʾnaƙkuðək, -piʾnaƙku, -piʾnaƙəŋmuʾ, -piʾnaƙəŋ, -piʾnaƙkuðək, -piʾnaƙəŋmuʾwaʾ, -piʾnaƙəŋmaʾ, -piʾnaƙkuðəŋ, -piʾnaƙkuzəŋmaʾ, -piʾnaƙmamauʾku, -piʾnaƙmamauʾkuðək, -piʾnəŕku, -piʾnəŕkəŋmuʾ, -piʾnəŕkəŋ, -piʾnəŕkuðək, -piʾnəŕkəŋmuʾwaʾ, -piʾnəŕkəŋmaʾ.*

Paradigm 9: *-səkuŋ, -səkuŋmaʾ, -siŋku, -siŋkuðək, -siŋku, -siŋmuʾ, -sikiŋ, -siŋkuðək, -siŋmuʾwa, -sikiŋmaʾ, -səkuðəŋ, -səkuðəŋmaʾ, -siŋmauʾku, -siŋmauʾkuðək, -aʾsəŕku, -aʾsəŕkəŋmuʾ, -aʾsəŕkəŋ, -aʾsəŕkaðək, -aʾseŕkəŋmuʾwaʾ, -aʾsəŕkəŋmaʾ.*

Paradigms 6 and **8** are identical with paradigm 9 except for the exponent of tense which in each case is the same as the exponent of tense in the class A paradigms. Examples of class B forms of paradigms 6 and 8 are given to illustrate the complete parallel with the paradigm 9 forms, apart from the different tense exponent: *-aʾsəkuŋ, -aʾsəkuŋmaʾ,* etc. *-nansəkuŋ, -nansəkuŋmaʾ,* etc.

Paradigm 7: *-atəkuŋ, -atəkuŋmaʾ, -acuŋku, -acuŋkuðək, -acuŋku, -acuŋmuʾ, -aciŋ, -acuŋkuðək, -acuŋmuʾwaʾ, -aciŋmaʾ, -aciðəŋ, -atəkuŋðəŋmaʾ. -acumauʾku, -aciŋmauʾkuðək, -acinəŕku, -acinəŕkəŋmuʾ, -acinəŕkəŋ, -acinəŕkuðək, -acinəŕkəŋmuʾwaʾ, -acinəŕkəŋmaʾ.* When the verb extensor 7 immediately precedes suffixes of paradigm 7, this paradigm is as follows: *-atəkuŋ, -atəkuŋmaʾ, -aciŋku, -aciŋkuðək,* or *-acikiŋkuðək, -aciŋku, -aciŋmuʾ* or *-acikiŋmuʾ, -aciŋ* or *-acikiŋ, -aciŋkuðək* or *-acikiŋkuðək,*

-aciŋmuˀwaˀ or *-acikiŋmuˀwaˀ*, *-aciŋmaˀ* or *-acikiŋmaˀ*, *-aciðəŋ* or *-atəkuðəŋ*, *-atəkuŋðəŋmaˀ* or *-aciðəŋmaˀ*, *acimauˀku*, *-aciŋmauˀkuðək* or *-acikiŋmauˀkuðək*, *-acinəɾku* or *-acikinəɾku*, *-acinəɾkəŋmuˀ* or *-acikinəɾkəŋmuˀ*, *-acinəɾkəŋ* or *-acikinəɾkeŋ*, *-acinəɾkuðək* or *-acikinəɾkəŋmuˀwaˀ*, *-acinərkəŋma* or *-acikinərkəŋmaˀ*.

Paradigm 10: *-amuŋ*, *-amuŋmaˀ*, *-aŋku*, *-aŋkuðək*, *-aŋku*, *-amiŋmuˀ*, *-amiŋ*, *-aŋkuðək* or *-amiŋkuðək*, *-amiŋmuˀwaˀ*, *-iamiŋmaˀ*, *-amuðəŋ*, *-amuðəŋmaˀ*, *-aŋmauˀku*, *-aŋmauˀkuðək*, *-anəɾku*, *-aminəɾkəŋmuˀ* or *-anəɾkəŋmuˀ*, *-aminəɾkəŋ*, *-aminəɾkuðək* or *-anəɾkuðək*, *-aminərkəŋmuˀwaˀ*, or *-anəɾkəŋmuˀwaˀ*, *-aminəɾkəŋmaˀ*.

Paradigm 11: *-u*, *-uðək*, *-iŋku*, *-iŋmuˀ*, *-iŋ*, *-iŋkuðək*, *-iŋmuˀwaˀ*, *-iŋmaˀ*, *-uˀku*, *-uˀkuðək*, *-iŋkuˀku*, *-inəɾkəŋmuˀ*, *-inəɾkəŋ*, *-inəɾkuðək*, *-inəɾkəŋmu*, *-inəɾkəŋmaˀ*.

Paradigm 12: *-tu*, *-tunðək*, *-paciŋku*, *-paciŋmuˀ*, *-pacikəŋ*, *-paciŋkuðək*, *-paciŋmuˀwaˀ*, *-pacikəŋmaˀ*, *-tamaˀu*, or *-tamuˀku*, *-tamuˀkuðək*, *-pacinəɾku*, *-pacinəɾkəŋmuˀ*, *-pacinəɾkəŋ*, *-pacinəɾkuðək*, *-pacinəɾkəŋmuˀwaˀ*, *-pacinəɾkəŋmaˀ*.

7443 Exponents of tense, person, and number. Exponents of tense, person, and number (subject and object) are abstracted from the class B inflectional suffixes in the same way as from class A suffixes (**7433**). These exponents of the five categories concerned in the class B suffixes are not to be regarded as additive in any sense.

74431 Exponents of tense. A comparison of class A and class B paradigms shows that the exponents of tense in the paradigms of class B are similar to the exponents of tense in class A paradigms. It is, therefore, not necessary to re-state these exponents. However, the paradigms 11 and 12 do not show such complete correspondence and these are, therefore, stated as follows: Paradigms 11 and 12 exhibit cumulative exponents for the categories of tense and person (subject).

74432 Exponents of person (subject). The exponents of person (subject) show considerable correspondence to the exponents of person in the class A paradigms set out in section **74332.** The differences may be listed as follows:

First (exclusive), Paradigms 3, 4: no vowel follows the velar closure with singular form. Paradigm 7: with plural forms the front vowel also occurs as a further freely fluctuating exponent.

Second. Paradigms 1 and 5: no overt exponent in the singular form. Paradigms 3, 4: in the singular form the exponent is bilabial nasal only.

Paradigm 7: an alternative exponent is found, the back vowel followed by nasal closure.

Third. Paradigm 1: there is no overt exponent in the forms *-lu* and *-luŋkuðək*. Paradigm 2: there is no overt exponent in the forms *-əcəŋ* and *-əcəŋmaˀ*. Paradigms 3 and 4: the exponent in the plural form is central vowel followed by alveolar flap, glottal closure, and velar closure. Paradigm 5: the exponent in the forms *-piˀnəɾ́ku* and *-piˀnəɾ́kuðək* is central vowel, alveolar flap, and glottal closure. Paradigms 6 and 9: the singular form has an exponent of front vowel followed by velar closure. Paradigm 7: there is no overt exponent in the alternative forms *-acuŋku*, *-acuŋkuðək*, *-acuŋmaˀ*, and *-acuŋmuˀwaˀ*. Paradigm 10: nasal closure, either velar articulation or bilabial articulation followed by the front vowel.

74433 Exponents of number (subject). The exponents of number (subject) show considerable correspondences with the exponents of number in the class A paradigms in section **7433**. There is no overt exponent of number in the singular form. The exponent of the plural category of number is as stated in section **74333**, except that, where the exponent nasal closure, open vowel, and glottal closure is found in paradigm A suffixes, the exponent nasal closure, central vowel, glottal closure, and alveolar flap is found in paradigm B suffixes.

74434 Exponents of person (object). The three categories of person (object) required for the statement of class B paradigms have the following exponents except when these exponents are cumulative with the exponents of other categories.

First person exclusive: velar closure followed by back vowel, except for exponent in the suffixes *-lu*, *-mu*, *-u*, and *-tu*, in paradigms 1, 3, 11, and 12 when the back vowel is exponent.

First person inclusive: velar nasal closure followed by bilabial nasal, back vowel, and glottal closure, and preceded by central vowel in paradigms 1, 2, 5, 7, 12 and in the third person plural (subject) forms of paradigms 3, 4, 6, 8-11.

Second person: velar nasal closure preceded by central vowel in paradigms 1, 2, 5, 7, 12 and in the third person plural (subject) forms of paradigms 3, 4, 6, 9-11.

74435 Exponents of number (object). The exponents of number (object) in the class B paradigms are similar to the exponents of number in the class A paradigms (**74333**).

75 The verb expanding prefix.

751 Definition. Verb forms may comprise one or more verb expanding prefixes. Verb forms having more than three prefixes are infrequent, though in principle up to five prefixes may occur. Forms with one or two prefixes are found frequently. Any affix which precedes a verb stem is a verb expanding prefix.

752 Classes. Prefixes are found with any verb stem except class I*b*, with any combination of verb extensors, and with any inflectional suffix or word suffix, except where otherwise stated in section **753**, subject only to collocational limitations. Such collocational limitations are extensive. Some prefixes are found more frequently and with a greater number of verb stems than others; this will be noted as each is treated.

These five classes are numbered, counting outwards from the stem. Except where otherwise stated, this numbering indicates the only possible sequence of the prefixes when more than one prefix is found in any one verb form. These five classes are termed 'orders' (**672**).

Order 1 comprises *in-* ~ *im-* ~ *iŋ-* ~ *iŋk-* 'reciprocal reflexive'. *im-* before bilabial stops, *iŋ-* before velar stops, *iŋk-* before *-ək*, *in-* elsewhere. This form is not found with any bipersonal suffixes (**744**). Forms comprising this prefix are very commonly found. When preceeded by any member of order 4, this prefix may be preceded by a member of either order 2 or order 3, but not both. E.g., *inapuˀlək in-* VePxl *apuˀ-* VS *-lək* ViSxl. 'I released myself', *inðəŋmapalinaˀ in-* VePxl *ðəŋma-* VS *-apa* VE7 *-linaˀ* ViSxl. 'They are fighting each other'.

Order 2 comprises *əḱ-* 'accompany . . . be with someone or something'. This prefix is found frequently in Jebero material. This prefix may be followed by a member of order 3 or of order 4a. E.g., *əḱliˀkuncək əḱ-* VePx2 *liˀ-* VS *-kun-* VE10 *-əcək* ViSx2. 'I will go and see with someone else'.

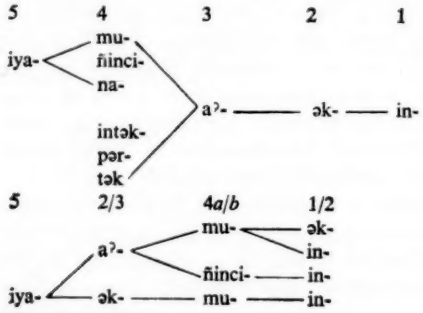
Order 3 comprises *aˀ-* 'causative'. Forms comprising this prefix are found frequently. This prefix is found preceding order 4a when that order is followed by order 1 or 2 or by neither. It also precedes order 4b whether that order is followed by order 1 or not. Order 3 prefix may be preceded by order 2. E.g., *aˀsakaˀtəcək aˀ-* VePx3 *sakaˀ-* VS *-t-* VE5 *-əcək* ¹ViSx2. 'I will make . . . work', *iyaˀtəraˀtapalu iya-* VePx5 *aˀ-* VePx3 *təraˀ-* VS *-t-* VE5 *-apa-* VE7 *-lu* ViSxl. 'You are wanting to make me plant'.

Order 4 comprises the following: *mu-* 'well', *ñinci-* 'know how to', *na-* 'recently', *intək-* 'pretend to do, do something ineffectively', *pər-* 'be tired of doing', *tək-* 'do many times'. All these six prefixes are found much less frequently than the members of orders 1-3. Four sub-classes of this order

are set up on the basis of the distribution of these prefixes with other prefixes: 4*a* comprises *mu-*, 4*b* comprises *ñinci-*, 4*c* comprises *na-*, 4*d* comprises *intək-*, *pər-*, *tək-*. Sub-class 4*d* is never found preceded by any other prefix. Sub classes 4*a* and 4*b* may be preceded by order 3. Sub-class 4*a* may be preceded by order 2. E.g., *intəksakaˀtuli intək-* VePx4d *sakaˀ-* VS *-tu-* VE5 *-li* ViSxl. 'He pretended to work', *əǩmusakaˀtuli əǩ-* VePx2 *mu-* VePx4a *sakaˀ-* VS *-tu-* VE5 *-li* ViSxl, 'he worked well with someone', *iyañincitəraˀlək iya-* VePx5 *ñinci-* VePx4b *təraˀ* VS *-lək* ViSxl. 'I want to know how to plant'.

Order 5 comprises *iya-* 'want to'. This prefix occurs more frequently than any other prefix. Order 5 is never preceded by any other prefix. It may precede various combinations of the other prefixes, except that it never precedes sub-class 4*d*. E.g., *iyaˀimpasuntuli iya-* VePx5 *aˀ-*VePx1 *pasun-* VS *-tu-* VE5 *-li* ViSx1. 'He wanted to make stick'.

753 Chart of verb expanding prefixes. A summary showing the distribution of the verb expanding prefixes is presented in the following chart:



76 The predicative verb. The predicative verb is limited both in syntactic function and morphological form. Members of the predicative verb series occur in sentences of sentence-type IV only (**452**). The predicative verb comprises the following forms only: *nukaˀka* 'first exclusive singular', *nukaˀka* 'first inclusive singular', *nukaˀma* 'second singular', *nukaˀa* 'third singular', *nukaˀkuðək* 'first exclusive plural', *nukaˀkawa?* 'first inclusive plural', *nukaˀmamaˀ* 'second plural', *nukəŕka* 'third plural'. These forms are analysed into verb stem *nukaˀ-* and a series of inflectional suffixes comparable to class A paradigms 3 and 4 (**7432**). Examples: *tasərpi nukaˀka* 'I am an old man', *ʃiwilukeŋmuˀwaˀ nukaˀkawaˀ* 'we are Jebero people', *subrinuwəkkəŋ nukaˀma* 'you are my nephew'.

77 **Summary and diagram of the structure of the verb.** A verb form may comprise prefixes, stem, extensors, inflectional suffix, and word suffixes. Every verb contains one stem and one member of the inflectional suffixes; there are 347 suffixes arranged in 2 sets of twelve paradigms, one unipersonal set and one bipersonal. In addition a verb may contain up to three members of the verb expanding prefixes, a class of ten prefixes arranged in 5 orders, up to four members of the extensor class of suffixes, 29 suffixes arranged in 19 orders, and up to three members of the word suffix class, 17 members arranged in 8 orders.

	Prefix	Stem	Extensor	Inflectional Suffix	Word Suffix
No. of terms in system	10 in 5 orders	Unlimited	29 in 19 orders	347 in 2 sets of 12 paradigms	17 in 8 orders
No. of elements in any one verb	up to 3	1	up to 4	1	up to 3

Chapter Eight: The structure of the nominal

81 Elements within the nominal. The Jebero nominal may comprise the following elements: stem, non-verbal suffix, and word suffix. The great majority of nominal stems are found with or without suffixation, and thus the minimum form of the nominal may be said to be the nominal stem alone. However, a very small number of nominal stems never occur alone but are always found with suffixation. These are set up as a sub-class of stems.

The theoretical maximum form for the nominal is in fact never found, although in theory the nominal may comprise, in its expanded form, a stem itself comprising three roots, up to 11 non-verbal suffixes, and up to 6 word suffixes. In the material examined a very great variety of combinations of the different elements within the nominal is found, but nominal forms with more than six suffixes are very rare.

Subsequent sections of this chapter will deal with each of these elements in turn and state any limitations in the distribution of the various elements with each other.

82 The nominal stem.

821 Definition. The stem of a nominal is that element which, either standing alone without affixation or (in the case of a small number of stems which may be exhaustively listed) when suffixed by one member of the non-verbal suffix class without further affixation, may function as a nominal. Cf. **5531**, **554**, and **572** for the function of the nominal.

822 Classes. Nominal stems always contain a nucleus element and may also include a satellite element. There are two types of nucleus, and nominal stems are divided into two classes on the basis of the type of nucleus of which they are comprised. Class I nominal stems are those whose nucleus is a nominal root. Class II nominal stems are those whose nucleus is a verb stem. The satellite elements of nominal stems will be described in conjunction with the different nuclei with which they are found, and in section **828**. Nominal stems may contain more than one root, and more than one type of root; such instances are treated as complex nuclei.

Examples: *piðəǩlusaˀ piðəǩ* NSI *-lusaˀ* nvSx 'houses', *əŋkaˀaˀkasuˀmaləǩ əŋkaˀaˀkasuˀ* NSII *-maləǩ* nvSx 'because of that which I had given'.

823 Class I stems.

8231 Definition. All nominal stems which comprise as their first element a nominal root are nominal root nucleus stems, except when such a first place nominal root is an element of a verb stem which is itself functioning as the nucleus of a nominal stem (see **8242** on class II stems, sub-class *b*).

8232 Sub-classes. Class I stems are divided into a number of sub-classes according to their internal structure.

Sub-class *a*: single root stem, comprises a single nominal root without any other element. Any member of root class I may occur in a I*a* stem. These stems are the most frequently occuring type of nominal stem.

Sub-class *b*: single bound root stem, comprises a single nominal root without any other element. Sub-class *b* differs from sub-class *a* in that *b* stems never occur alone but are always suffixed. This class of stems is a very small one. Any member of root class II may be found in a I*b* nominal stem.

Sub-class *c*: double root stem, comprises two nominal roots as complex nuclei without any other element. The first root is a member of root classes I*b*, I*c*, or I*d*. The second root is a member of root classes I*c*, I*d*, II*a*, II*b*, or III. Though not as common as class I*a* stems, many examples of class I*c* occur.

Sub-class *d*: treble root stem, comprises three nominal roots as complex nuclei without any other element. The first root is a member of root classes I*b*, I*c*, or I*d*. The second root is a member of root classes I*c*, I*d*, II*a*, II*b*, or III. The third root is a member of root classes I*d*, II*b*, or III. This class of stem is found quite often, though not as frequently as classes I*a* or I*c*. Examples: *piðəklusaˀ piðəǩ* NSIa *-lusaˀ* nvSx. 'houses', *pinəŋ pi-* NSIb *-nəŋ* nvSx. 'his body', *ʃiwilupənlusaˀ ʃiwilupən* NSIc *-lusaˀ* nvSx. 'Jebero men'.

824 Class II stems.

8241 Definition. All nominal stems which comprise a verb stem followed by some other element are verb stem nucleus nominal stems.

8242 Sub-classes. Class II stems are divided into sub-classes on the basis of the satellite elements which follow the verb stem nucleus.

Sub-class *a*: verb stem and nominal root stem, comprises a verb stem followed by a nominal root. Verb stems found in class II*a* nominal stems are always from verb stem classes I*a* and I*d*. Not every stem of these classes may occur in II*a* nominal stems, but only those stems whose nucleus is a verb root of class X (**7267**). Any nominal root of root classes I*c*, I*d*, II*a*, II*b*, or III may be found as satellite element in class II*a* nominal stems.

Sub-class *b*: verb stem and derivational suffix stem, comprises a verb stem followed by a number of the nominal derivational suffix class (**828**). Any such form may also contain a verb expanding prefix immediately preceding the verb stem element of the nominal. Any verb stem of any verb class may be found as nucleus of class II*b* nominal stems. Any member of the nominal derivational suffix class may occur with any verb stem as the satellite element of class II*b* nominal stems, subject only to collocational limitations. Examples: *uʾlaŋwəkɬi* NSIIa *uʾlaŋ-* VS *wəkɬi* NR 'winter', *pipəluʾ* NSIIa *pipər-* VS *-luʾ* NR 'red earth', *kaluʾpi* NSIIb *kaluʾ-* VS *-pi* NdSx 'something cooked', *pəŋtuna* NSIIb *pəŋtu-* VS *-na* NdSx 'bridge'.

825 Homophonous nominal and adverb roots. A small number of nominal stems comprise an element which may be regarded as either a nominal root or an adverb root. The present analysis treats these forms as nominal roots which may be paralleled by identical homophonous adverb roots. However, it would also be possible to treat them as adverb roots and to set up a third class of nominal stems, comprising adverb root nucleus with or without satellite elements. The chief disadvantage of this treatment is that it involves setting up a large number of sub-classes of adverb root and making a number of structural statements for a very limited group of stems. For example, *napiʾ* 'old, long ago', functions syntactically as a nominal (adjective) and as an adverb, and in morphological form shows characteristics of both classes. *napiʾ paʾli* 'he went a long time ago', *napiʾkuʾlusaʾ* 'the old man now dead'.

826 The nominal root.

8261 Definition. Any part of a nominal which cannot be subdivided into further morphemes, and which either (*a*) may function alone as a nominal stem, or (*b*) together with a preceding nominal root (which may function alone as a nominal stem) may function as a nominal stem, and is not a member of the non-verbal or word classes of suffix, is a nominal root.

8262 Classes. Four sets of classes of nominal root are set up. Each set of classes is not a further sub-division of a previous division but each set is a cross-classification at the same level as the other three sets. One set of three classes is established on the basis of the distribution of the roots within the nominal stem. This set is labelled I, II, and III (**8263-8265**). Another set of two classes is set up on the basis of the distribution of the roots in class I*e* verb stems. This set is labelled A and B (**8266**). A third set

of two classes is set up on the basis of the distribution of the roots in class II*b* verb stems. This set is labelled J and K (**8267**). The fourth set of three classes is established on the basis of the distribution of the roots with the adverb derivational suffixes (**925**). This set is labelled X, Y, Z (**8268**). The three classes of root set up on the basis of the distribution of the roots within the nominal stem are: class I, free roots; class II, bound roots; class III. complex nucleus roots.

8263 Class I nominal roots. All roots which may be found as nominal stems functioning as words without any other elements, are class I nominal roots. The great majority of nominal roots are of this class. Class I roots are divided into four sub-classes.

Sub-class *a*: single free roots, always occur alone in nominal stems. Roots of this class are found in stems of class I*a* only.

Sub-class *b*: first place free roots, may occur either alone or as first root in nominal stems. Roots of this class are found in stems of classes I*a*, I*c*, and I*d*.

Sub-class *c*: second place free roots, may occur alone, as first root, or as second root in nominal stems. Roots of this class are found in stems of classes I*a*, I*c*, I*d*, and II*a*.

Sub-class *d*: third place free roots, may occur alone, as first root, as second root, or as third root in nominal stems. Roots of this class are found in stems of classes I*a*, I*c*, I*d*, and II*a*. Examples: *piðəḵ* NRIb 'house', *tampaʔ* NRIc 'arm, branch', *kala* NRIa 'three', *laða* NRId 'face'.

8264 Class II nominal roots. All roots which may be found as nominal stems which may function as words only with some suffixial element, are class II nominal roots. Class II roots are divided into two sub-classes.

Sub-class *a*: second place bound roots, always occur either alone or as second root in nominal stems. Roots of this class are found in stems of classes I*b*, I*c*, I*d*, and II*a*.

Sub-class *b*: third place bound roots, always occur alone, as second root, or as third root in nominal stems. Roots of this class are found in stems of classes I*b*, I*c*, I*d*, and II*a*. Class II roots are a small class, but roots of this class occur frequently. Examples: *pi-* NRIIb 'body', *supina-* NRIIa 'behind, back'.

8265 Class III nominal roots. All nominal roots which never function as a simple nucleus in nominal stems are class III nominal roots. All class III roots always occur either as second root or as third root in nominal stems. Roots of this class are found in stems of classes I*c*, I*d*, and II*a*.

Class III roots are a small class, some 20 or so roots having been found, but these roots occur frequently. Examples: *-luˀ* NRIII 'flesh', *-luŋ* NRIII 'female', *-pən* NRIII 'male'.

8266 Class A and Class B nominal roots. The two classes of root set up on the basis of the distribution of the roots in class I*e* verb stems are: Class A, comprising all nominal roots which are found in class I*e* verb stems; that is, following a verb root as described in section **7232**. Class B, comprising all nominal roots which never occur in class I*e* verb stems.

There is considerable overlapping between classes I, II, and III and classes A and B. Class A includes roots of classes I, II, and III. Class B includes roots of class I only. Or, stated conversely, class I includes roots of classes A and B, whereas classes II and III include only roots of class A. Class A roots are found in all classes of nominal stem, except class II*b*, while class B roots are found in stems of class I only. Class A roots are a comparatively small class of roots, of which some fifty have been found, but this class includes a number of very common roots. The majority of these roots have a semantic similarity, being names of parts of the body. Examples: *tampaˀ* NRA 'arm'. *piðəǩ* NRB 'house'.

8267 Class J and Class K nominal roots. The two classes of root set up on the basis of the distribution of the roots in class II*b* verb stems are: Class J, comprising all nominal roots which are found in class II*b* verb stems; that is, suffixed by the verb derivational suffix *-tu-* as described in section **7242**. Class K, comprising all nominal roots which never occur in class II*b* verb stems.

There is considerable overlapping between classes I, II, III and classes J and K, and between classes A and B and classes J and K. Class J includes roots of classes I and II, while class K includes roots of classes I, II, and III. Conversely, class I includes roots of classes J and K, and class II includes roots of classes J and K, while class III includes only roots of class K. Class J includes roots of classes A and B and so does class K. Conversely classes A and B include roots of classes J and K. Class J and K roots are found in stems of all sub-classes of class I, the nominal root nucleus nominal stem, and sub-class II*a* nominal stem. The number of class J roots is quite small. In the material examined some forty or so roots have been noted, though it seems likely this may be extended in further material. E.g., *nalutusik* V *nalu* NRJ *-tu-* VdSx *-sik* ViSx 'when it is new'.

8268 Classes X, Y, and Z nominal roots. The three classes of root set up on the basis of the distribution of the roots with the adverb derivational

suffixes are: Class X, comprising all nominal roots which are found in class III adverb stems; that is, suffixed by the adverb derivational suffix *-lu²* **(9252)**. Class Y, comprising all nominal roots which are found in class III adverb stems; that is, suffixed by the adverb derivational suffix *-pi²* **(9252)**. Class Z, comprising all nominal roots which never occur in adverb stems.

There is considerable overlapping between classes I, II, and III, and classes X, Y, Z, between classes A and B and classes X, Y, Z, and between classes J and K and classes X, Y, Z. Classes X and Y include roots of class I only, whereas class Z includes roots of classes I, II, and III. Conversely class I includes roots of classes X, Y, and Z, while classes II and III include roots of class Z only. Classes X and Y include roots of class B only, whereas class Z includes roots of classes A and B. Conversely class A includes roots of class Z only whereas class B includes roots of classes X and Y. Class X includes roots of class J only, and class Y includes roots of class K only, whereas class Z includes roots of classes J and K. Conversely class J includes roots of classes X and Z, while class K includes roots of classes Y and Z. Class X roots are found only in nominals of the sub-class adjective. It would, therefore, be possible to set up a further sub-class of adjectives which could be defined as those whose roots are of class X or as those which can be suffixed by the adverb derivational suffix *-lu²*, and to call this sub-class 'numerals'. However it should be noticed that such a sub-class would include a few other words in addition to counting words, e.g. *wapu²* 'many'. E.g., *kalalu²* A *kala* NRX *-lu²-* AdSx 'three times'.

827 Summary of root classes. All nominal roots in Jebero belong to one of nine groups of classes, namely, groups comprising classes, IAJZ, IAKZ, IBJX, IBJZ, IBKY, IBKZ, IIAJZ, IIAKZ, IIIAKZ.

828 Nominal derivational suffixes. Nominal derivational suffixes may be defined as those suffixes which are found following a verb stem, verb stem and suffix together forming a nominal stem. These suffixes form a closed system of mutually exclusive members which may be listed exhaustively. Two sub-classes are set up on the basis of the presence of exponents of person. Sub-class 1 comprises suffixes from which no exponent of person may be abstracted, while sub-class 2 comprises those suffixes from which exponents of person may be extracted.

The nominal derivational suffix sub-class 1 comprises the following: *-na* 'instrumental, object used for specific action', *-pi* 'object in the state described by verb stem', *-lusa²* 'those that do or are something described by verb stem', *-sa²* 'one that is or does something very often', *-təƙ* 'one

who does something habitually'. Examples: *saka²tutək saka²tu-* VS *-tək* NdSx 'worker'. *pəŋtuna pəŋtu-* VS *-na* NdSx 'bridge'.

The nominal derivational suffix sub-class 2 comprises the following members, which are arranged in paradigmatic form, in a manner similar to the verb inflectional suffixes dealt with in section 74. Like those suffixes, the nominal derivational suffix sub-class 2 may comprise exponents of one or of two persons. Unipersonal suffixes are set out in paradigm A below, while bipersonal nominal derivational suffixes are set out in paradigm B below. In listing the suffixes, the order of both the unipersonal and bipersonal paradigms is identical with the order followed in sections **7432** and **7442**.

Paradigm A: 'object affected by the verb stem concerned', *-a²kasu²*, *-a²kasu²*, *-a²masu²*, *-a²su²*, *-a²kuðu²su²*, *-a²kawa²su²*, *-a²mama²su²*, *-aŕkasu²*.

Exponents of person and number may be abstracted as follows. The exponents of person are similar in every respect to the exponents of person found in the verb paradigms 3 and 4 (**7433**). The exponents of number are similar in every respect to the exponents of number found throughout the class A verb paradigms, except that the exponent with the first person exclusive exponent is *ðu.*, not *ðək*.

Paradigm B: *-a²ŋsu²*, *-a²ŋma²su²*, *-a²musu²*, *-a²muðəksu²*, *-a²ŋkusu²*, *-a²ŋmu²su²*, *-a²ŋsu²*, *-a²ŋkuðəksu²*, *-a²ŋmu²wa²su²*, *-a²ŋma²su²*, *-a²kuðəŋsu²*, *a²kuðəŋma²su²*, *-a²mamau²kusu²*, *-a²muðəksu²*, *-əŕkusu²*, *-əŕkəŋmu²su²*, *-əŕkəŋsu²*, *-əŕkuðəksu²*, *-əŕkəŋmu²wa²su*, *-əŕkəŋma²su²*. All the forms which include the syllable *ðək* have an alternative form in which *ðək* is replaced by the syllable *ðin*, e.g. *-a²muðəksu²* or *a²muðinsu²*, except for the form *-a²ŋkuðəksu²*, for which there is no alternative form.

The exponents of person and number (subject and object) are identical with the exponents of paradigm 3 of series B (**7443**), except for the form *-a²ŋkusu²*; there may or may not be a relationship of concord between the persons and numbers of these nominals and the persons and numbers of other forms in the sentence. Examples: *əŋka²a²su² əŋka²-* VS *-a²su²* NdSx 'that which he gave', *əŋka²a²ŋkusu²*, *əŋka²-* VS *-a²ŋkusu²* NdSx, *kulikəŕwək a²ña²kasu² a²ña-*VS *-a²kasu²* NdSx 'my money which I have', *luwanta²masu² əŋkəŕkəŋ luwanta-*VS, *-a²masu²* NdSx 'I will give you what you want'.

829 Correlation of the nominal stem and root classes with the sub-classes noun, adjective, pronoun, and relative. Nouns may contain stems of all classes of stem listed above, and these stems comprise nominal roots of all classes except class X, and verb stems of all classes. Adjectives may

contain stems of all classes of stem, except I*b* and II*a*. Adjective stems comprise nominal roots of all classes except I*b*, I*c*, I*d*, A, and Y. Pronouns may contain stems of class I*a* only. Pronoun stems comprise nominal roots of class I*a*, B, K, and Z. Relatives may contain stems of class II*b* only, and so always comprise a verb stem and nominal derivational suffix sub-class 2.

83 The non-verbal suffix.

831 Definition. Any nominal may contain, in addition to a nominal stem, one or more suffixes of the non-verbal class of suffixes. Any suffix which is found with a nominal or adverb stem but not with a verb or particle stem, unless that verb is functioning as part of a nominal stem, is a non-verbal suffix.

832 Classes. Any non-verbal suffix may be found with any nominal stem and any word suffix apart from collocational limitations. Certain non-verbal suffixes may occur with some other non-verbal suffixes but not with others, and, furthermore, the different non-verbal suffixes when found with a second suffix occur in a certain fixed order relative to each other.

The different classes of non-verbal suffixes are termed 'orders'. The numbers of the different orders indicate their relative distribution, the numbering being outward from the stem. For the most part this order is fixed, but any exceptions to this general rule will be stated for each order in turn below. Within each order the numbers are mutually exclusive; cf. **672**.

TABLE OF ORDERS OF NON-VERBAL SUFFIXES

1	2	3		4	5	6	7	8
-ʃa	-la	-wək	-wiðək	-kuʔ	-ðapər	-lusaʔ	-lupaʔ	-la
		-mapuʔ	-mapuʔwaʔ				-taɬ	-lanləɬ
		-pəŋ	-pəŋmaʔ				-kək	-walək
		-nəŋ	-nəŋnaʔ					

9	10	11	12	13	14		15	16	17
-ðaʔ	-tuci	-ləɬ	-ki	-məŋtu	-ku	-kuðək	-saʔ	-lər	-impuʔ
		-maləɬ			-kəŋmuʔ	-kəŋmuʔwaʔ			
					-kəŋ	-kəŋmaʔ			
						-lusaʔ			

As certain orders have a distribution similar to that of other orders, a number of groups of orders are established in order to state this distribution economically.

Group A comprises orders 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 10, 13, 15, and 17.
„ B „ „ 7, 8, and 9.
„ C „ „ 11 and 12.
„ D „ „ 14.
„ E „ „ 16.

Orders of group A may occur with orders of groups B, C, D, and E, but orders of groups B, C, D, and E are mutually exclusive with orders of any other group. The only exception is that order 9 has been found with order 12. Within each group the orders are not mutually exclusive, only between groups; so that orders 7 and 8 are found together, but not 7 and 11.

Since members of any order may occur with a member of another or of several other orders, except as stated above, in principle a nominal may comprise various combinations of these orders up to 12 in number. In fact very many combinations of these orders are found, but whereas forms containing one or two non-verbal suffixes are very common, forms with three or four non-verbal suffixes are infrequent, and forms with a larger number of non-verbal suffixes are very rare.

It may be stated that whereas suffixes of the orders within groups B, C, D, and E and of orders 5 and 6 within group A are inflectional in character, since forms with one or other of these suffixes are dissimilar from each other in syntactic function, suffixes of the orders of group A, except 5 and 6, are more derivational in character. On the one hand they have a similar syntactic valence, but on the other hand they have a distribution as wide as that of the suffixes which are clearly inflectional. It would, therefore, seem best not to set up the categories of derivational suffix and inflectional suffix, but to treat them as members of one closed system of non-verbal suffixes.

The following details of the 17 orders of non-verbal suffix are given below for each order in turn: (*a*) its membership, (*b*) any relevant comment regarding its distribution with stems, (*c*) any relevant details regarding its distribution with other orders and, in particular, (i) any other orders which are always found with the particular order, i.e. which its occurrence presupposes, but not vice versa, (ii) any variation from the sequence of distribution with other orders which the number of the order indicates.

Order 1 comprises *-ʃa* 'diminutive'. Numerous examples of this suffix are found with a very large number of stems. This order is found both before and after orders 7 and 17. E.g., *piðəkʲʃa piðəkʲ* NS *-ʃa* nvSx1. 'small house'.

Order 2 comprises *-la* 'diminutive with affection or esteem'. This order frequently occurs with order 1. E.g., *piðəkʲʃala piðəkʲ* NS *-ʃa* nvSx1 *-la* nvSx2. 'dear little house'.

Order 3 comprises *-wək* 'first excl. sing. possessive', *-mapuˀ* 'first incl. sing. possessive', *-pəŋ* 'second sing. possessive', *-nəŋ* 'third sing. possessive'. *-wiðək* 'first excl. plural possessive', *-mapuˀwaˀ* 'first incl. plural possessive', *-pəŋmaˀ* 'second plural possessive', *-nəŋmaˀ* 'third plural possessive'. Members of this order are found very frequently in Jebero material, suffixed to a wide variety of stems, except the stems of the pronoun sub-class. It is noticeable that some of these suffixes show very considerable similarities to the exponents of person and number already described for the verb inflectional suffixes and nominal derivational suffixes in sections **7433**, **7443**, and **828**. In particular the exponents of number are identical. E.g., *mutuˀwək mutuˀ* NS *-wək* NvSx3. 'my head'.

Order 4 comprises *-kuˀ* 'now dead'. There are extensive collocational limitations to the distribution of this order with nominal stems. This suffix may precede or follow orders 3-8 and 13, though it generally precedes them. Except for orders 3, 6, and 16, order 4 is found with other orders only infrequently. E.g., *amanaˀkuˀ amanaˀ* NS *-kuˀ* nvSx4. 'The tiger now dead'.

Order 5 comprises *-ðapər* 'plural' (sometimes with an inclusive sense). Order 5 may precede or follow orders 4 and 7-13. E.g., *iñəɾðapəlusaˀ iñəɾ* NS *-ðapər* NvSx5 *-lusaˀ* nvSx6. 'all of them'.

Order 6 comprises *-lusaˀ* 'plural'. This suffix occurs more frequently and with a greater variety of stems than any other suffix of this series. Order 6 may precede or follow orders 4 and 7-13. E.g., *piðəklusaˀ piðək* NS *-lusaˀ* nvSx6. 'the houses', *iyaliˀlusaˀ iyaliˀ* NS *-lusaˀ* nvSx6. 'the men'.

Order 7 comprises *-lupaˀ* 'by, along, in the direction of', *-takˈ* 'by the side of', *-kək* ~ *-k* 'at, in, on, to', *-k* occurs following a stem ending with a vowel, *ˀ or k*, *-kək* occurs elsewhere. This order occurs frequently and with a wide variety of stems. Order 7 may precede or follow orders 1 and 4-6. E.g., *amaˀwinalupaˀ amaˀwina* NS *-lupaˀ* nvSx7. 'along the stream', *nuŋkək nuŋ* NS *-kək* nvSx7. 'in the canoe'.

Order 8 comprises *-la* 'from, *-lanləkˈ* 'right from', *-walək* 'as far as, up to'. Order 8 may follow or precede orders 4-6. Order 8 is always preceded by order 7 when suffixed to a nominal stem though not when suffixed to an adverb stem (**635** and **93**). E.g., *piðəkwəkkəkla piðək* NS *-wək* nvSx3 *-kək* nvSx7 *-la* nvSx8 'from my house'. *məŋmikwaləkˈ məŋmi* NS *-k* nvSx7 *-walək* nvSx8. 'up to the chacra'.

Order 9 comprises *-ðaˀ* 'from', with the implication of possession or of the place of origin, in contrast to *-la* 'from' which is always purely locational. Order 9 may follow or precede orders 4-6. Order 9 is always preceded by order 7 or 8 when suffixed to a nominal stem, though not when

suffixed to an adverb stem (**635** and **93**). E.g., *yaʾðaʾ yaʾ* AS *-ðaʾ* nvSx9. 'from yesterday'.

Order 10 comprises *-tuci* 'pure, unalloyed, just so and no more'. Order 10 may follow or precede orders 4-6. E.g., *ðəktuci ðək* NS *-tuci* nvSx10. 'water and no more'.

Order 11 comprises *-ləḱ* 'with', *-maləḱ* 'for the sake of, because of'. These suffixes occur frequently with a wide variety of stems. Order 11 may follow or precede orders 4-6 and 15. E.g., *sawəliləḱ sawəli* NS *-ləḱ* nvSx11 'with the machete', *wilamaləḱ wila* NS *-maləḱ* nvSx11. 'for the child's sake'.

Order 12 comprises *-ki* 'belonging to, of'. Order 12 may follow or precede orders 4-6 and 15. E.g., *məŋmi nanaki nana* NS *-ki* nvSx12. 'his chacra'.

Order 13 comprises *-məŋtu* 'first of all'. Order 13 may follow or precede orders 4-6 and 15. E.g., *kwaməŋtu papəcu kwa* NS *-məŋtu* nvSx13. 'bury me first of all'.

Order 14 comprises *-ku* 'predication, first excl. sing.' *-kəŋmuʾ* 'predication, first incl. sing.' *-kəŋ* 'predication, second sing.' *-kuðək* 'predication, first excl. plural' *-kəŋmuʾwaʾ* 'predication first incl. plural' *-kəŋmaʾ* 'predication second plural' *-lusaʾ* 'predication third plural'.

Stems suffixed by a member of order 14 are found in predicative sentences (**452**). Syntactically, nominal forms suffixed by one of this order resemble verb forms in function; however, morphologically these forms are like nominals not verbs. For instance, no verb prefix is ever found prefixed to one of these nominals, nor are any verb extensors found with these forms. No members of the pronoun sub-class are found with members of this order.

With order 14, as with order 3, it is noticeable that these suffixes show considerable similarities to the exponents of person and number already described for the verb inflectional suffixes and nominal derivational suffixes (**7433**, **7443**, and **828**). The exponents of number are identical except for the exponent with the third person which is a cumulative form from which it is not possible to abstract different categories of person and number. The exponents of person show most resemblance to the exponents of person (object) in the class B paradigms (**74434**).

It will be observed that this series, order 14, does not include a member of the category third person singular. There are considerable collocational limitations to the distribution of this order with nominal stems. E.g., *tasərpiku tasərpi* NS *-ku* nvSx14. 'I am an old man'. *ʃiwilukəŋmuʾwaʾ ʃiwilu* NS *-kəŋmuʾwaʾ* nvSx14. 'We are Jebero people'.

Order 15 comprises *-saʾ* 'only'. This suffix occurs frequently and with

many stems. Order 15 may follow or precede orders 11-13. E.g., *piðəḱwəksaˀ piðəḱ* NS *-wək* nvSx3 *-saˀ* nvSx15. 'my house only', *sawəliləksaˀ sawəli* NS *-ləḱ* nvSx11 *-saˀ* nvSx15. 'with a machete only'.

Order 16 comprises *-lər* 'subject indicator'. This suffix marks the nominal which is functioning as subject (**4422-4424**). There are collocational restrictions on the distribution of this suffix with some nominal stems. E.g., *amanaˀlər amanaˀ* NS *-lər* nvSx16. 'the tiger'.

Order 17 comprises *-impuˀ* 'negative, reversive'. This suffix frequently occurs with a wide variety of stems. Order 17 may follow or precede order 1. E.g., *paˀli sawəliləksaˀ ñi ilapaləḱimpuˀ ilapa* NS *-ləḱ* nvSx11 *-impuˀ* nvSx17. 'he went with a machete only, not with a shotgun'.

Chapter Nine: The structure of the adverb and the particle

91 Elements within the adverb. The adverb in Jebero may comprise the following elements, adverb stem, non-verbal suffix, and word suffix. The minimum form of the adverb consists of an adverb stem, since all adverb stems may be found alone as words without any affixation. The maximum form in theory would comprise stem and up to a large number of non-verbal suffixes and further word suffixes. In fact while adverbs with many different non-verbal suffixes and every word suffix are found, long forms with many suffixes do not occur. Forms with one non-verbal suffix and/or one word suffix are very common, forms with two non-verbal suffixes and/or two word suffixes are infrequent, and forms with three or more suffixes of either class are very rare. Subsequent sections of this chapter will deal with each of these elements within the adverb and will state any limitations in the distribution of the elements with each other.

92 The adverb stem.

921 Definition. The stem of an adverb is that minimal element which when standing alone without affixation may function as an adverb. Cf. **5533** and **554**.

922 Classes. Adverb stems always contain a nucleus element and may also include a satellite element. There are three types of nucleus, and adverb stems are divided into three classes on the basis of the type of nucleus which they contain. Class I adverb stems are those whose nucleus is an adverb root. Class II adverb stems are those whose nucleus is a verb stem. Class III adverb stems are those whose nucleus is a nominal stem. The satellite elements of adverb stems will be described in conjunction with the different nuclei with which they are found, and in section **928**. Examples: *əŕwalusaˀ əŕwa* ASI *-lusaˀ* nvSx. 'in the afternoons', *kalaluˀ* ASIII 'Three times'.

923 Class I stems.

9231 Definition. All adverb stems which contain an adverb root are stems of class I. Though this class is not as large in number as class II, members of this class are found very much more frequently than the members of either of the other two classes of stem.

9232 Sub-classes. Class I stems are divided into three sub-classes on the basis of their internal structure. Sub-class *a*: single root stems, comprise a single adverb root without any other element. Any adverb root, of any class, may be found in a class I*a* adverb stem. The great majority of class I stems are of this sub-class. Sub-class *b*: double root stems, comprise two adverb roots without any other element. The first and second roots of class I*b* stems are both members of class II adverb root. This sub-class is a very small one. Sub-class *c*: adverb and nominal root stems, comprise an adverb root followed by a nominal root without any other element. The adverb root is a member of root class II, and the nominal root is a member of root classes II or III. This stem-class is a very small one. Examples: *ðəkpiliˀ* ASIa 'night', *ðasuˀðəkpiliˀ* ASIb 'in the early hours of the morning', *əkɬisupina* ASIc 'day after tomorrow'.

924 Class II stems.

9241 Definition. All adverb stems which comprise a verb stem are stems of class II.

9242 Sub-classes. Class II stems are divided into two sub-classes on the basis of the derivational suffixes which are found within them. Sub-class *a* comprises any verb stem followed by an adverb derivational suffix of class 1*a* **(928)**. Sub-class *b* comprises any verb stem followed by an adverb derivational suffix of class 1*b* **(928)**. Since both sub-classes comprise any verb stem, the number of members of this class is limitless in theory, but in fact members of this class, though more numerous than those of the other two classes, do not occur as frequently as those of class one. Examples: *ciksuˀ cik-* VS *-suˀ* AdSx. 'straightway'; *əŋkaˀpiˀpuˀ əŋkaˀ-* VS *-aˀpiˀpu* AdSx. 'the day he gave'.

925 Class III stems.

9251 Definition. All adverb stems which comprise a nominal stem are stems of Class III, except when that nominal stem is preceded by an adverb root.

9252 Sub-classes. Class III stems are divided into two sub-classes on the basis of the derivational suffixes which are found within them. Sub-class *a* comprises a nominal stem followed by an adverb derivational suffix of class 2*a* **(928)**. The nominal stem is always of class I*a* and comprises a nominal root always of class X **(8268)**. Sub-class *b* comprises a nominal stem followed by an adverb derivational suffix of class 2*b* **(928)**. The nominal stem is always of class I*a* or II*a*, comprising a nominal root of

class Y (**8268**) and a verb root of class X (**7267**). The members of both sub-classes of class III stems are few in number and are not found very frequently in Jebero material. Examples: *wapuˀluˀ wapuˀ* NS *-luˀ* AdSx. 'many times'. *uˀlaŋwəklipiˀ uˀlaŋwəkli* NS *-piˀ* AdSx. 'winter time'.

926 Abverb roots.

9261 Definition. Any part of an adverb which cannot be sub-divided into further morphemes, and which can function alone without affixation as an adverb stem, is an adverb root.

9262 Classes. Two classes of adverb root are set up on the basis of the distribution of the roots within the adverb stem. Class I adverb roots are those roots which are only found singly in adverb stems. Roots of this class are found in class I*a* stems only. The great majority of adverb roots are of this class. Class II adverb roots are those roots which are found either singly or with another root (whether adverb or nominal) in adverb stems. Roots of this class are found in stems of classes I*a*, I*b*, or I*c*. The number of roots in this class is very small. Examples: *ina* ARI 'far side', *ðəkpiliˀ* ARII 'night'.

928 Adverb derivational suffixes.

9281 Definition. Adverb derivational suffixes may be defined as those suffixes which are found following a stem of another class, stem and suffix forming an adverb stem.

9282 Sub-classes. Two sub-classes are set up on the basis of the distribution of the suffixes with different classes of stems.

9283 Sub-class 1. Sub-class 1 comprises those adverb derivational suffixes which are suffixed to a verb stem, stem and suffix forming an adverb stem. Sub-class 1 is divided into two further sub-classes, 1*a* and 1*b*, on the basis of the abstraction of exponents of person and number. Sub-class 1*a* comprises suffixes from which no exponent of person may be abstracted and consists of *-suˀ* 'adverbializer'. Example: *wiwəǩsuˀ wiwəǩ-* VS *-suˀ* AdSxla. 'quickly'.

Sub-class 1*b* comprises suffixes from which exponents of person and number may be abstracted. Suffixes of this sub-class are arranged in paradigmatic form, in a similar manner to the verb inflectional suffix paradigms (**74**) and the nominal derivational suffixes class 2 (**828**). Like these other series the adverb derivational class 1*b* may comprise exponents of one or two persons. The two sets of unipersonal derivational suffixes are set out

first, and then the third set, the only bipersonal adverb derivational suffixes, are set out. In listing the suffixes the order of both the unipersonal and bipersonal paradigms is identical with the order followed in sections **7432** and **7442**.

Paradigm A1: 'locational' *-aǩ*, *-aǩ*, *-aǩma*, *-aǩ*, *-aǩkuðək*, *-aǩwaˀ*, *-aǩmamaˀ*, *-aɾ́kək*. The exponents of person are identical with the exponent of person found in paradigm 5 of the class A verb inflectional suffixes (**74332**). The exponents of number are identical with the exponents of number found throughout the verb paradigm, except for the cumulative exponents of person and number for the third person plural. E.g., *sakaˀtaǩ sakaˀt-* VS *-aǩ* AdSx1b. 'where he worked'.

Paradigm A2: 'the day when . . .' *-aˀkapiˀpuˀ*, *-aˀkapiˀpuˀ*, *-aˀmapiˀpuˀ*, *-aˀpiˀpuˀ*, *-aˀkuðəkpiˀpuˀ*, *-aˀkawaˀpiˀpuˀ*, *-aˀmamaˀpiˀpuˀ*, *-aɾ́kapiˀpuˀ*. The exponents of person which may be abstracted are identical with the exponents abstracted from paradigms 3 and 4 of the verb inflectional suffixes class A (**74332**). The exponents of number are identical with the exponents of number which are found throughout the verb inflectional suffixes. This whole paradigm is very similar to the paradigm already set out for the nominal derivational class 2 (**828**). The resemblance is complete if the final syllable *-suˀ* of the nominal series is replaced by the syllables *-piˀpuˀ* for the adverb derivational suffixes.

Paradigm B: The bipersonal forms corresponding to the unipersonal forms of paradigm A2: *-aˀŋpiˀpuˀ*, *-aˀŋmaˀpiˀpuˀ*, *-aˀŋkupiˀpuˀ*, *-aˀmuðəkpiˀpuˀ*, *-aˀŋkupiˀpuˀ*, *-aˀŋmuˀpiˀpuˀ*, *-aˀŋpiˀpuˀ*, *-aˀmuðəkpiˀpuˀ*, *-aˀŋmuˀwaˀpiˀpuˀ*, *-aˀŋmaˀpiˀpuˀ*, *-aˀkuðəŋpiˀpuˀ* or *-aˀkuðiŋpiˀpuˀ*, *-aˀkuðəŋmaˀpiˀpuˀ* or *-aˀkuðiŋmaˀpiˀpuˀ*, *-aˀmamauˀkupiˀpuˀ*, *-aˀmamauˀkuðəkpiˀpuˀ*, *-aɾ́kupiˀpuˀ*, *aɾ́kəŋmuˀpiˀpuˀ*, *-aɾ́kəŋpiˀpuˀ*, *-aɾkuðəkpiˀpuˀ*, *-aɾ́kəŋmuˀmaˀpiˀpuˀ*, *aɾ́kəŋmuˀwaˀpiˀpu*. The exponents of person and number (subject and object) are identical with the exponents abstracted from the members of paradigms B 3 and 4 (**74432**). This whole series of suffixes is very similar to the nominal derivational series sub-class 2, paradigm B (**828**), E.g., *əŋkaˀaˀŋkupiˀpuˀ əŋkaˀ-* VS *-aˀŋkupiˀpuˀ* AdSx1b. 'the day he gave me', *iyapantaˀaˀkapiˀpuˀ iya-* VePx *pantaˀ-* VS *-aˀkapiˀpuˀ* AdSx1b. 'the day I wanted to go'.

9284 Sub-class 2. Sub-class 2 comprises those adverb derivational suffixes which are suffixed to a nominal stem, stem and suffix forming an adverb stem. Sub-class 2 is divided into two further sub-classes, 2*a* and 2*b*, on the basis of distribution with the nominal stem. Sub-class 2*a* comprises those suffixes which are found suffixed to a nominal stem comprising a nominal root of class X (**8268**), and consists of *-luˀ* 'times'.

Sub-class 2*b* comprises suffixes which are found suffixed to a nominal stem comprising a nominal root of class Y (**8268**), and consists of *-piˀ* 'the day when, the time when'. Examples: *kalaluˀ kala* NS *-luˀ* AdSx2a. 'three times', *ñiñupiˀ ñiñu* NS *-piˀ* AdSx2b. 'Christmas time'. *wapuˀluˀ wapuˀ* NS *-luˀ* AdSx2a. 'many times', *uˀlaŋwəkɬipiˀ uˀlaŋwəkɬi* NS *-piˀ* AdSx2b. 'winter-time'.

93 Suffixation by the non-verbal suffixes. Any adverb may contain, in addition to an adverb stem, one or more suffixes of the non-verbal class of suffixes, of orders 1, 5-9, 11, 12, 15, and 17. Any member of these orders of suffixes may be found suffixed to an adverb stem except for one member of order 7, *-kək*. All these suffixes are members of groups A, B, and C of the non-verbal suffixes. Adverbs are never suffixed by members of groups D and E.

All the details of the distribution of these suffixes with the nominal stem apply in the same way to their distribution with the adverb stem (**832**), except that members of orders 8 and 9 are not found to be preceded by order 7 when suffixed to adverb stems, as is the case when they are suffixed to nominal stems. Examples: *ðəkpiliˀlusaˀ ðəkpiliˀ* AS *-lusaˀ* nvSx6. 'at night', *əŕwasaˀ əŕwa* AS *-saˀ* nvSx15. 'in the afternoon only', *inaðaˀ ina* AS *-ðaˀ* nvSx9. 'from over there'.

94 The particle.

941 General. All particles comprise a stem with or without one or more suffixes of the word suffix series. See sections **633** for the definition of the particle, **663** for sub-classes of the particle, **67** for the word suffix class, and **451** and **554** for the syntactic function of the particle.

942 The particle stem. All particle stems comprise one morpheme only. There are no particle stems which are derived from stems or roots of other classes, nor are stems of particles found as part of the stems of the words of other word classes.

943 Suffixation by the word suffix. In principle any particle may be suffixed by any member of the word suffix class, and several such suffixes may be found with particle stems, though in the material examined usually only one suffix is found in any one word. In the majority of cases in which particles are found in suffixed form the suffix is *-ima* 'and' (**672**). E.g., *ñi kaluiˀpiˀñinaˀ ñi* P *kaluiˀpiˀñinaˀ* V. 'they are not sick', *anəˀ laˀ piˀ-ʃəkapatamaˀ anər* P *-laˀ* WSx *piˀʃəkapatamaˀ*. V. 'take care now, don't look behind'.

Chapter Ten: Summary

The structure and function of the verbal piece in Jebero have now been described and may be summarised as follows. The verbal piece functions within the two favourite sentence-types of the language. Indeed, the verbal piece marks the favourite sentence-type as against the non-favourite sentence-type, for all favourite sentence-types include a verbal piece and no verbal piece is found in any of the non-favourite sentence-types.

The structure of the verbal piece has been stated in terms of elements which function within it. As an endocentric construction the verbal piece is said to comprise a head and optional expansion and these in turn comprise clause(s), phrase(s), and word(s). The structure of these elements has been stated in terms of the elements which function within them. In this way all these elements are successively broken down into single words. The word itself is described not only in terms of its function in these different larger elements, which is, in fact, the basis for the establishment of word classes, but also in terms of its internal structuring of morphemes, which is the basis for stem, root, and affix classes.

The verbal piece has, thus, been viewed as a complex grammatical element whose function and structure can best be described by means of a series of statements at different levels, working down from the level of the sentence structure to the level of the single morpheme.

Chapter Eleven: Texts

The following texts were collected in the field and are given together with a translation of each. A full grammatical analysis of the first text is provided.

TEXT I *The boy and the black tiger* Carlos Talexio

A napiʔima 1 iyaliʔkuʔlusaʔ 2 mitayuk 3 paʔłinaʔ 4 iŋkatuʔðapərima 5.
Long ago men now dead to a hunt they went four of them

B paʔaŋniʔma 6, kamaʃiłinaʔ 7 alaʔsaʔ 8 wila 9 paʔkəɬ 10 ðəƙ 11
going they ordered a boy go water

mantəɬ 12. C itaŋniʔma 13, aʔpantaʔłinaʔ 14 ðəƙukucik 15.
fetch saying they made go to the shore

D paʔapilantaʔŋima 16, kananaʔłi 17 kəluluñiñiʔ 18, wanərapasik 19.
when he was going he found a black tiger when he was standing

E maʔnəŋaʔtaʔ 20 asuʔ 21, supay 22 nukaʔa 23, taŋima 24, aðəncaʔŋima 25,
whatever this demon it is saying returning

papinəŋ 26 wintəncaʔłi 27. F maʔnəŋ 28 supaypaʔ 29 kananək 30.
his father he came and told what demon I found

G kəluluñiñiʔpaʔ 31, papa 32, itułima 33. H maʔnəŋaʔtaʔ 20 kəŋma 35
a black tiger perhaps father he said whatever you

təƙkwaʔðaŋ 36, tumuʔpala 37, tulaʔŋniʔma 38, latəkiʔñinaʔ 39 wila 9.
fearing you are deceiving saying they did not believe the boy

I nuʔsiʔma 40 əɬwasikima 41, ipaʔ 42 təŋtaŋnaʔ 43 wiciʔłinaʔ 44
thus when it is late now smoothing their beds they slept

ðəkpiłiʔ 45. J wiciaʔsəɬima 46 ðəkpiłiʔ 45, ipaʔ 42 kəluluñiñiʔ 18 maʔi 47
in the night when they slept in the night now the black tiger . . . er . . .

pəƙlaɬi 48, iyawəƙwatəncaʔðəkaŋ 49 iyakaʔðəkaŋ 50. K nuʔsikima 51,
growled wanting to come towards them wanting to eat them when it is done

pəkluʔpawinðəkaŋ 52 nana 53 wilalər 54, təƙkaʔlapiðəkaŋ 55
calling them in vain the boy running and leaving them

kaðunamuluk 56 nampəƙaŋ 57, kupəñik 58 ðukuñi 59.
to the fork of a wacrapona tree climbing at the top shoot he went and sat

L nuʔaŋima 60 nanəkla 61 łiʔapaɬima 62, wənaʔaŋ 63, nana 53 kəluluñiñiʔ 18
doing this from there he was seeing coming the black tiger

pəkkwəʔncaʔłi 64 tampuʔðunsanəŋnaƙ 65. M nana 53 nuʔaŋima 60,
stretched out at the side of their shelter he doing this

pəkkwaʔŋima 66 ipaʔlinci 67 inluʔ-inluʔ-inluʔ-tutampaʔpaŋima 68,
stretching out now when he is licking his paws

ipaˀlinci 67 piɬiˀtuɬi 69 alaˀsaˀ 8. N lawəkapaɬima 70,
from now he seized one he was hearing

kauˀ-aˀtumutuˀŋima 71, suˀ-suˀ-suˀ-aˀtapaɬi 72, wəklaðəknəŋ 73 uwitaŋ 74.
crushing his head he sucked his blood drinking

O nuˀsikima 51, aliˀla 75 nuˀtaŋima 76, ðəkkəˀcuðəkɬi 77. P nuˀaŋima 60,
when it is done another doing he killed them all doing this

nana 53 aliˀlima 78 insəkitaˀsuˀ 79 ðuŋkəɬi 80.
the other one which had hidden himself he looked for

Q ðuŋkəfapaŋima 81, kanañi 82, musənkəkima 83 ðuˀapasik 84.
looking for he found on high when he is sitting

R nuˀaŋima 60, ðuŋkəfapaŋiˀla 85 ipaˀ 42, nampəkwatapilaɬima 86 ipaˀ 42
doing this still looking now he is climbing towards now

kaðunak 87. S nampəkapilasikima 88, rejonəŋləkˊ 89 aˀkapəˀɬi 90
the wacrapona tree when he is climbing with his spear he made meet

asuˀ 91 təksiˀñikinci 92. T ðaˀsukəˀñantapilali 93 rejon 94.
this at his neck it pierced and entered completely the spear

U nuˀtapaɬima 95 ipaˀlinci 67 pakiˀtuɬima 96 nana 53 kəɬuluñiñiˀ 18
he is doing this from now he killed the black tiger

anuˀncaˀɬi 97. V nuˀsiˀma 40 wəkɬinantuɬi 98. W nana 53 wila 9,
fell thus it dawned the boy

ðuˀapaŋ 99 musənkək 100, wəkɬisikima 101, ɬiˀɬi 102, kəɬuluñiñiˀ 18
when he is sitting on high when it dawned he saw the black tiger

ðuˀapaɬi 103 cimipi 104. X maˀpuˀsiˀna 105 nuˀwantəcək 106 ipaˀla 107,
he is sitting dead how shall I come down now

nampipaɬima 108 ipaˀ 42, taŋima 24, nana 53 wila 9 ðuˀapaɬi 103
he is alive now saying the boy he is sitting

musənkək 100. Y ipiˀmaci 109 əɾwapilasikima 110, ipaˀ 42
on high now when it is getting late now

iyanuˀwəncaˀŋima 111, utiˀlima 112 nuˀwəncaˀŋima 113, ɬiˀɬima 114
wanting to come down slowly descending he saw

cimipima 115 kəɬuluñiñiˀ 18. Z nanəklima 116 nuˀwəncaˀŋima 113
dead the black tiger then descending

inðəkaŋima 117, ipaˀlinci 67 wənchaˀɬi 118 wila 9. AA ipaˀ 42
and jumping now he came back the boy now

aˀtaˀwantuləkˊ 119, Don 120 Juan 121.
I have made it finish Don Juan

TRANSLATION

Long ago four men went hunting. When they went they ordered a boy to go and fetch some water. They made him go to the water shore. When he was going he found a black tiger standing. "Whatever is this? It's a

demon," he said, and returned and came and told his father. "Whatever demon did I find? Perhaps it's a black tiger, father," he said. "You are deceiving us being afraid of whatever it is," they said, and did not believe the boy. Then when it is late, after they had made their beds, they slept in the night. When they slept in the night the black tiger growled wanting to come to them, wanting to eat them. Then, having called the men in vain, the boy ran leaving them and climbing up a wacrapona tree he went and sat down at the top shoot. Having done this, from there he saw the black tiger coming and stretching out by their shelter. Then, having stretched himself and licked his paws, he seized one of them. Kau! SuʔSuʔ! he heard the tiger crush his head and suck up and drink his blood. When he had done this he did the same to another and so he killed them all. Then he looked for the other one who had hidden himself. Having looked he found him when he sat on high. Then still looking he came towards him, climbing up the wacrapona tree. When he climbed he met him with a spear at his throat. The spear pierced and entered completely. When he did that now he killed him and the black tiger fell close by the trunk of the wacrapona tree. Thus it was when it dawned. The boy sitting on high when it dawned saw the black tiger sitting dead. "How shall I get down? Perhaps he is still alive," the boy said, and was sitting on high. When it is getting late, wanting to come down and descending slowly, he saw the black tiger is dead. Then coming down and jumping now the boy came back. Now I have finished, Don Juan.

GRAMMATICAL ANALYSIS

This analysis takes each sentence in turn, states the sentence-type and its structure down as far as the stem of each word. In the case of stems comprising more than one morpheme the analysis goes down to the root level. Figures refer to the words in the text, except that reference to the relevant section is given when any element is first introduced. The word 'comprising' is symbolized by – . Series of statements are shortened to avoid unnecessary repetition by the use of commas, as follows: Cc – STiI. STiI – VP. VP – VH. VH – paʔaŋniʔma V etc., is abbreviated to read, Cc – STiI, VP, VH, paʔaŋniʔma V etc.

A. STII (§ 442) – VP (1 3 4 § 52) NP (2 5 § 572). VP – VH (4 § 53) VX (1 3 § 55). VH – paʔlinaʔ V (§ 632), paʔ- VS (§ 72) -linaʔ ViSx (§ 74). VX – A (1 § 554) N (3 § 554). A – napiʔima A (§ 635), napiʔ AS (§ 92) -ima WSx (§ 672). N – mitayuk N (§ 634), mitayu NS (§ 82) -k nvSx (§ 83). NP – N (2) N (5). N – iyaɬiʔkuʔlusaʔ N, iyaɬiʔ NS -kuʔ nvSx -lusaʔ nvSx. N – iŋkatuʔðapərima N, iŋkatuʔ NS -ðapər nvSx -ima WSx.

B. STI (§ 441) – VP, VH (7) VX (6 8-12). VH – kamaʃiɬinaˀ V, kamaʃi- VS -ɬinaˀ ViSx. VX – Cc (6 § 5521) FN (8 9 § 5531) Ci (10 § 5523) Ci (11 12). Cc – STiI, VP, VH, paˀaŋniˀma V, paˀ- VS - aŋnaˀ ViSx -ima WSx. FN – NH (9 § 55311) NX (8 § 55313). NH – wila N, n, NS. NX – alaˀsaˀ N, a, alaˀ- NS -saˀ nvSx. Ci – STiI, VP, VH, paˀkəɾ V, paˀ- VS -kəɾ ViSx. Ci – STiI, VP, VH (12) VX (11). VH – mantəɾ V, ma- VS -ntaˀ- VE (§ 73) -əɾ ViSx. VX – N, ðək N, NS.

C. STI – VP, VH (14) VX (13 15). VH – aˀpantaˀɬinaˀ V, aˀ- VePx (§ 752) pantaˀ- VS -ɬinaˀ ViSx. VX – Cc (13) N (15). Cc – STiI, VP, VH, itaŋniˀma V, ita- VS -aŋnaˀ ViSx -ima WSx. N – ðəƙukucik N, ðəƙukuciŋ NS -k nvSx.

D. STI – VP, VH (17) VX (16 18 19). VH – kananaˀɬi V, kanan- VS -ntaˀ VE -ɬi ViSx. VX – Cc (16) N (18) Cn (19 § 5522). Cc – STiI, VP, VH, paˀapilantaˀŋima V, paˀ- VS -apa- VE -ila- VE -ntaˀ- VE -aŋ ViSx -ima WSx. N – kəɬuluñiñiˀ N, NS. Cn – STiI, VP, VH, wanərapasik V, wanər- VS -apa- VE -sik ViSx.

E. STI – VP, VH (27) VX (20–26). VH – wintənncaˀɬi V, wint- VS -ənncaˀ- VE -ɬi ViSx. VX – Cc (20–5) N (26). Cc – STiI, VP, VHc (24–5) Vx (20–3). VHc – aðənncaˀima V, aðan- VS -ənncaˀ- VE -aŋ ViSx -ima WSx;[1] VHc – taŋima V, ta- VS -aŋ ViSx -ima WSx. VX – Ci (20-1) Ci (22-3). Ci – STiVI (§ 45), aI (20 § 6646) N (21). AI – maˀnəŋaˀtaˀ a, maˀ- NS -nəŋ nvSx -aˀtaˀ WSx. N – asuˀ N, NS. Ci – StiIV (§ 45), N (22) Vp (23 § 76). N – supay N, NS. N – papinəŋ N, papi NS -nəŋ nvSx.

F. STI and Y (§ 4432) – VP. VP – VH (30) VX (28-9). VH – kananək V, kanan- VS -nək ViSx. VX – FN, NH (29) NX (28). NH – supaypaˀ N, n, supay NS -ipaˀ WSx. Nx – maˀnəŋ N, aI, maˀ- NS -nəŋ nvSx.

G. STI – VP, VH (33) VX (31 32). VH – itułima V, itu- VS -ɬi ViSx -ima WSx. VX – Ci, STiV (§ 45), N (31) Voc (32 § 46 and 573). N – kəɬuluñiñi-ˀpaˀ N, kəɬuluñiñiˀ NS -ipaˀ WSx. Voc – papa N, NS.

H. STI – VP, VH (39) VX (34-38, 9). VH – latəkiˀñinaˀ V, latək- VS -iˀn- VE -ñinaˀ ViSx. VX – Cc (34-8) N (9).[2] Cc – STiI, VP, VH (38) VX (34-7). VH – tulaˀŋniˀma V, tu- VS -laˀ- VE -aŋnaˀ ViSx -ima WSx. VX – Ci, STiI, VP, VH (37) VX (34-6). VH – tumuˀpala V, tumuˀ- VS

[1] The semi-colon is used to distinguish between the breakdown of the two or more heads of a VHc.

[2] The analysis of words which have already been analysed is not repeated.

-apa- VE -la ViSx. VX – Cc, STiII, VP (34 36) NP (35). VP – VH (36) VX (34). VH – təkʷkwaʾðaŋ V, təkʷkwaʾðan- VS -aŋ ViSx, VS – təkʷkwa- VR (§ 726) waʾðan NR. VX – maʾnəŋaʾtaʾ N, maʾ- NS -nəŋ nvSx -aʾtaʾ WSx. NP – kəŋma N, NS.

I. STI – VP, VH (44) VX (40-3 45). VH – wiciʾɬinaʾ V, wiciʾ- VS -ɬinaʾ ViSx. VX – Cn (40-1) Cc (42-3) A (45). Cn – STiI, VP, VH (41) VX (40). VH – əɾwasikima V, əɾwa- VS -sik ViSx -ima WSx. VX – nuʾsiʾma A, nuʾsuʾ AS -ima WSx. Cc – STiI, VP, VH (43) VX (42). VH – təŋtaŋnaʾ V, təŋtan- VS -aŋnaʾ ViSx. Vx – ipaʾ A, AS.

J. STII – VP (46 45 42 47-50) NP (18). VP – VH (48) VX (42 45-7 49-50). VH – pəkʟaɬi V, pəkʟa- VS -ɬi ViSx. VX – Cn (46 45) A (42) PF (47 § 68) Cc (49 50). Cn – StiI, VP, VH (46) VX (45). VH – wiciaʾsəɾima V, wiciʾ- VS -aʾsəɾ ViSx -ima WSx. VX – A (45). PF – maʾi PF. Cc – STiI, VP, VHc (49 50 § 53). VHc – iyawəkʷatəncaʾðəkaŋ V, iya- VePx wəkʷ- VS -wa- VE -t- VE -ənca ʾ- VE -ðək VE -aŋ ViSx; iyakaʾðəkaŋ V, iya- VePx kaʾ- VS -ðək- VE -aŋ ViSx. NP – N (18).

K. STI – VP, VH (59) VX (51-8). VH – ðuʾkuñi V, ðuʾ- – VS -kun- VE -ñi ViSx. VX – Cn (51) Cc (52-7) N (58). Cn – STiI, VP, VH, nuʾsikima V, nuʾ- VS -sik ViSx -ima WSx. Cc – STiII, VP (52 55-7) NP (53-4). VP – VHc (52 55 57) VX (56). VHc – pəkʟuʾpawinðəkaŋ V, pəkʟuʾ- VS -apa- VE -win- VE -ðək- VE -aŋ ViSx; təkʷkaʾlapiðəkaŋ V, təkʷkaʾ- VS -lapi- VE -ðək- VE -aŋ ViSx; nampəkʷaŋ V, nampəkʷ- VS -aŋ ViSx. VX – N, N – kaðunamuluk N, kaðunamulu NS -k nvSx. NS – kaðuna NR mulu NR. NP – FN, NH (54) NX (53). NH – wilalər N, wila NS -lər nvSx. NX – nana N, a, NS.

L. STI – VP, VH (62) VX (60-1 63-5). VH – ɬiʾapaɬima V, ɬiʾ VS- apa- VE -ɬi ViSx -ima WSx. VX – Cc (60) A (61) Ci (63-5). Cc – STiI, VP, VH, nuʾaŋima V, nuʾ- VS -aŋ ViSx -ima WSx. A – nanəkla A, nanək AS -la nvSx. Ci – STiII, VP (63 64-5) NP (53 18). VP – VH (64) VX (63 65). VH – pəkʟkwəʾncaʾɬi V, pəkʟkwaʾ- VS -ənca ʾ- VE -ɬi ViSx. VX – Cc (63) N (65). Cc – STiI, VP wənca ʾaŋ V, wənca ʾ- VS -aŋ ViSx. N – tampuʾ- ðunsanəŋnakʷ N, tampuʾðunsa NS -nəŋna ʾ nvSx -k nvSx, tampuʾ NR ðunsa NR. NP – FN, NH (18) NX (53).

M. STI – VP, VH (69) VX (53, 60 66-8 8). VH – piliʾtuli V, piliʾ- VS -tu- VE -li ViSx. VX – Cc (53 60) Cc (66-8) A (67) N (8). Cc – STiII, VP (60) NP (53). Cc – STiI, VP, VHc (66 68) VX (67). VHc – pəkʟkwaʾŋima V,

pəƙkwaˀ- VS -aŋ ViSx -ima WSx, inluˀ-inluˀ-inluˀ-tutampaˀpaŋima V, inluˀ-inluˀ-inluˀ-tutampaˀ- VS -apa- VE -aŋ ViSx -ima WSx. VS – inluˀ-inluˀ-inluˀ- VR -tu- VsSx (§ 729) tampaˀ NR. VX – A, ipaˀlinci A, ipaˀ AS -la nvSx -inci WSx.

N. STI – VP, VH (70) VX (71-4). VH – lawəƙapaɬima V, lawəƙ – VS -apa- VE -ɬi ViSx -ima WSx. VX – Ci, STiI, VP, VH (72) VX (71 73-4). VH – suˀ-suˀ-suˀ-aˀtapaɬi V, suˀ-suˀ-suˀ-aˀt- VS -apa- VE -ɬi ViSx. VS – suˀ-suˀ-suˀ- VR -aˀt- VsSx. VX – Cc (71) Cc (73-4). Cc – StiI, VP, VH, kauˀ-aˀtumutuˀŋima V, kauˀ-aˀtumutuˀ- VS -aŋ ViSx -ima WSx. VS – kauˀ- VR -aˀtu- VsSx mutuˀ NR. Cc – STiI, VP, VH (74) VX (73). VH – uwitaŋ V, uwi- VS -t- VE -aŋ ViSx. VX – wəklaðəƙnəŋ N, wəklaðəƙ NS -nəŋ nvSx.

O. STI – VP, VH (77) VX (51 75-6). VH – ðəƙkəˀcuðəkɬi V, ðəƙkəɾ – VS -tu- VE -ðək- VE -ɬi ViSx. VS – ðəƙ- VsPx (§ 728) -kəɾ- VR (§ 7264). VX – Cn (51) Cc (75-6). Cc – STiI, VP, VH (76) VX (75). VH – nuˀ taŋima V, nuˀ- VS -t- VE -aŋ ViSx -ima WSx VX – aliˀla N, alaˀ NS -iˀla WSx.

P. STI – VP, VH (80) VX (60 53 78-9). VH – ðuŋkəˀɬi V, ðuŋkəɾ- VS, -ɬi ViSx. VX – Cc (60) FN (53 78-9). FN – NH (78) NX (53 79). NH – aliˀlima N, alaˀ NS -iˀla WSx -ima WSx. NX – a (53) r (79 § 5531 and 6644). r – insəkitaˀsuˀ N, insəkita- VS -aˀsuˀ NdSx (§ 828).

Q. STI – VP, VH (82) VX (81 83-4). VH – kanañi V, kanan- VS -ñi ViSx. VX – Cc (81) Cn (83-4). Cc – STiI, VP, VH, ðuŋkəɾapaŋima V, ðuŋkəɾ- VS -apa- VE -aŋ ViSx -ima WSx. Cn – STiI, VP, VH (84) VX (83). VH – ðuˀapasik V, ðuˀ- VS -apa- VE -sik ViSx. VX – musənkəkima N, musən- NS -kək nvSx -ima WSx.

R. STI – VP, VH (86) VX (60 85 42 87). VH – nampəƙwatapilaɬima V, nampəƙ- VS -wa- VE -t- VE -apa- VE -ila- VE -ɬi ViSx -ima WSx. VX – Cc (60) Cc (85 42) A (42) N (87). Cc – STiI, VP, VH, nuˀaŋima V. Cc – STiI, VP, VH (85) VX (42). VH – ðuŋkəɾapaŋiˀla V, ðuŋkəɾ- VS -apa- VE -aŋ ViSx -ila WSx. VX – A N. – kaðunak N, kaðuna NS -k nvSx.

S. STI – VP, VH (90) VX (88-9 91-2). VH – aˀkapəˀli V, aˀ- VePx kapəɾ- VS -li ViSx. VX – Cn (88) N (89) N (91) N (92). Cn – STiI, VP, VH, nampəƙapilasikima V, nampəƙ- VS -apa- VE -ila- VE -sik ViSx -ima WSx. N – rejonləƙ N, rejon NS -ləƙ nvSx. N – asuˀ N, NS. N – təksiˀ-ñikinci N, təksiˀ NS -nəŋ nvSx -k nvSx -inci WSx.

T. STII – VP (93) NP (94). VP – VH, ða$^{?}$sukə$^{?}$ñantapilaɬi V, ða$^{?}$sukə$^{?}$ñan- VS -t- VE -apa- VE -ila- VE -li ViSx. VS – ða$^{?}$- VsPx -sukəɬ- VR nan NR. NP – N, rejon N, NS.

U. STI – VP, VHc (95 96 97) VX (67 53 18). VHc – nu$^{?}$tapaɬima V, nu$^{?}$- VS -t- VE -apa- VE -li ViSx -ima WSx; paki$^{?}$tuɬima V, paki$^{?}$- VS -tu- VE -li ViSx -ima WSx; anu$^{?}$nca$^{?}$ɬi V, anu$^{?}$- VS -ənca$^{?}$- VE -li ViSx. VX – A (67) FN (53 18). FN – NH (18) NX (53).

V. STI – VP, VH (98) VX (40). VH – wəkɬinantuɬi V, wəkɬinan- VS -tu- VE -li ViSx.

W. STII – VP (99-104 18) NP (53 9). VP – VH (102) VX (99-101 18 103-4). VH – ɬi$^{?}$ɬi V, ɬi$^{?}$- VS -li ViSx. VX – Cc (99-100) Cn (101) Ci (18 103-4). Cc – StiI, VP, VH (99) VX (100). VH – ðu$^{?}$apaŋ V, ðu$^{?}$- VS -apa- VE -aŋ ViSx. VX – musənkək N, musən- NS -kək nvSx. Cn – STiI, VP, VH, wəkɬisikima V, wəkɬi- VS -sik ViSx -ima WSx. Ci – STiII, VP (103) NP (18 104). VP – VH, ðu$^{?}$apaɬi V, ðu$^{?}$- VS -apa- VE -li ViSx. NP – N (18) N (104). N (104) – cimipi N, cimi- VS -pi NdSx. NP – FN (53 9), NH (9) NX (53).

X. STII – VP (105-8 42 24 103 100) NP (53 9). VP – VH (103) VX (105-8 42 24 100). VX – Cc (105-8 42 24) N (100). Cc – StiI, VP, VH (24) VX (105-8 42). VH – taŋima (24). VX – Ci (105-7) Ci (108 42). Ci – STiI, VP, VH (106) VX (105). VH – nu$^{?}$wantəcək V, nu$^{?}$wan- VS -t- VE -əcək ViSx. VX – A (105) A (107). A – ma$^{?}$pu$^{?}$si$^{?}$na$^{?}$ A, ma$^{?}$pu$^{?}$su$^{?}$ AS -i$^{?}$na WSx. A – ipa$^{?}$la A, ipa$^{?}$ AS -la nvSx. Ci – StiI, VP, VH (108) VX (42). VH – nampipaɬima V, nampi- VS -apa- VE -li ViSx -ima WSx. NP – FN, NH (9) NX (53).

Y. STI – VP, VH (114) VX (109-113 42 115 18). VH – ɬi$^{?}$ɬima V, ɬi$^{?}$- VS -li ViSx -ima WSx. VX – Cn (109-10) Cc (42 111) Cc (112-13) N (115) N (18). Cn – STiI, VP, VH (110) VX (109). VH – əɾwapilasikima V, əɾwa- VS -apa- VE -ila- VE -sik ViSx -ima WSx. VX – ipi$^{?}$maci A, ipa$^{?}$ AS -ima WSx -ci WSx. Cc – StiI, VP, VH (111) VX (42). VH – iyanu$^{?}$wənca$^{?}$ŋima V, iya- VePx nu$^{?}$wan- VS -ənca$^{?}$- VE -aŋ ViSx -ima WSx. Cc – StiI, VP, VH (113) VX (112). VH – nu$^{?}$wənca$^{?}$ŋima V, nu$^{?}$wan- VS -ənca$^{?}$- VE -aŋ VE -ima WSx. VX – uti$^{?}$lima A, uti$^{?}$la AS -ima WSx. N – cimipima N, cimi- VS -pi NdSx -ima WSx.

Z. STII – VP (116-118 113 67) NP (9). VP – VH (118) VX (116-7 113 67). VH – wənca$^{?}$ɬi V, wənca$^{?}$- VS -li ViSx. VX – Cc (116 113) Cc (117) A (67).

Cc – StiI, VP, VH (113) VX (116). VH – nuʔwənca ʔŋima V, nuʔwan- VS -ənca ʔ- VE -aŋ ViSx -ima WSx. VX – nanəklima A, nanək AS -la NvSx -ima WSx.
Cc-StiI, VP, VH, inðəƙaŋima V, in- VePx ðəƙ- VS -aŋ ViSx-ima WSx.

AA. STI – VP (42 119) Voc (120-1). VP – VH (119) VX (42). VH – aʔtaʔwantulək V, aʔ- VePx taʔwan- VS -tu- VE -lək ViSx. VX – A (42). Voc – FN, NH (121) NX (120). NH – Juan N, n, NS. NX – Don N, a, NS.

TEXT II *Marciel and the Cocama Woman* Ricardo Ortiz

A napiʔima alaʔsaʔ ʃayaʔ kukamaʔluima, tanðiƙ
Long ago a woman a Cocama woman on the Marañon

ñapasikima, paʔwatuli alaʔsaʔ wapułər. B paʔwataŋima
when she was living went towards a boat going towards

pasuŋwatukuñi. C pasuŋkunsikimiʔna ipaʔlinci łiʔapałima.
it went and tied up when it was tied up then she was seeing

D maʔpuʔaʔsuʔca asuʔ asək pasuŋkəłasuʔ wapur.
what sort is this here that which has come and tied up boat

E ñi əmpiʔʃa asəƙ pasumpakəriʔñi tułima nana ʃayaʔ.
not ever here it has not tied up said that woman

F taŋimiʔna ipaʔlinci maʔi ðuʔapasikima yuʔnsəɾwatułima
having spoken then ..er.. when she is sitting come out towards her

alaʔsaʔ iyałiʔma tasərpi uʔnilatuʔpima. G nana paʔwataŋ
a man an old man with a large forehead he going towards

ipaʔlinci ñapalaʔnca ʃayaʔ, itukuñima. H ðaʔəncəɾ, itułima
then are you there? lady he went and said come in said

nana ʃayaʔlərunta ʔ, təƙkwatusuʔ. I ðuʔkəɾ, itułima. J ðuʔłima.
the woman when she was afraid sit down she said he sat down

K łiʔłima alaʔsaʔ iyałiʔ ñima ñi əmpiʔʃa łiʔimpuʔaʔsuʔ.
she saw a man not not ever that which she had not seen

L nuʔaŋima təƙkwatulaʔŋima łiʔapaŋima, ipaʔlinci wəklulu ʔ
having done this being afraid seeing then masato

aʔucək, taŋima, iyaʔułima wəklulu ʔ.
I will give to drink saying she wanted to give him to drink masato

M ñina iyuwiʔñi. N nuʔaŋ ipaʔlinci yunsaŋima, asək ʃayaʔ kwa
not he did not drink doing that then rising here lady I

wəƙwatułəŋ. O maʔʃa asuʔlupak kwa ñapiʔnək. P kwiʔna
I came to you no along here I am not living but I

ñapalək aliʔla maʔik lupak. Q nanamalək kwa muðiðəkpəŋ
I am living another in . . . er . . in a part because of that I your milk

iyaləkamu wəkləkˌ ʃayaˀ. R nanaˀka akuˀluˀlaðatupaciŋku
wanting to ask I came lady that if you would put it into my eye

kwa muʃasuˀ ɬiˀtapatəku ipaˀlinci. S yuˀnsəɾəcək.
I well I would see then I will leave by water

T iyapantaˀlək ñinanluˀwəkkək. U kwiˀna ʃiwilukla nukaˀka.
I want to return to my town I from Jeberos I am

V ʃiwilu tasərpiku nukaˀka kwa. W nanək kəŋma
Jebero I am an old man I am I there you

akuˀluˀlaðatupaciŋku nana muðiðəkpəŋ, musuˀ ɬiˀtapatəku.
if you will put it into my eye the your milk well I would see

X ñinanluˀwəkkək ñapəɾkasuˀ nana iyaliˀlusaˀ iyaliˀntaˀðəklək,
in my town those which are the men I want to go and see them

maˀpuˀsiˀpaˀ ñinanluˀwək, tamu. Y nanamalək, asək kəŋma
however is my town saying because of that here you

ñapaˀmasuˀmalək ʃayaˀ, yuˀnsəɾwatukələŋ.
because of your being here lady I left by water for you

Z kwiˀna Marcielku nukaˀka. AA ʃiwiluku, itaŋima, maˀkiˀnoa
but I I am Marciel I am I am a Jebero saying why

təkkwatułu, ʃayaˀ, itułima. AB maˀʃa teƙkwaciˀñəŋ,
are you afraid of me lady he said no I am not afraid of you

yuyuˀ, itułima nanalərunta. AC nuˀpacimpaˀ, iyakuˀluˀlaðaciˀñu
brother said she if it is thus you do not want to put it into my eye

muðiðəkpəŋ, pantəˀcək. AD nana luwantuwimu pasuŋwatukələŋ
your milk I will return that wanting in vain I tied up and came to you

asək, ʃayaˀ. AE pantəˀcək nuˀwaŋkunuˀncək, taŋima ðaˀuntaˀŋ
here lady I will return I will go down stream saying entering

nana wapuñikima ðaˀuntaˀaŋ, nuˀwañi.
the in the boat having gone and entered he went down stream

AF uˀñiʃima nuˀwanlaˀaŋ daŋkumərkuñima ɬiˀapali
a little way having gone down stream it went under the water she was seeing

nana wapur.
the boat.

TRANSLATION

Long ago a boat went towards a woman, a Cocama woman, when she was living on the Marañon. Then it went and tied up. When the boat tied up, then she was looking. "What sort of boat is this that has come and tied up? Never has it tied up here," the woman said. Saying this when she was sitting, a man, an old man with a large forehead, came out towards her. He went towards her and said, "Are you there, lady?" "Come in," said the woman, who was afraid. "Sit down," she said. He sat down. She saw

a man whom she had never seen before. Then being afraid and saying, "I will give you some masato," she wanted to give him some masato to drink. He did not want to drink.

Then rising he said, "I came here to you, lady. I do not live in these parts but I am from another part. Because of that I came wanting to ask for your milk, lady. If you would put that into my eye then I would see well. I will leave. I want to return to my town. I am from Jeberos. I am a Jebero old man. If you would put your milk into my eye I would see well. I want to go and see the men who are in my town, saying, 'However is my town?' Because of that I left by water, because of your being here, lady. I am Marciel. I am a Jebero. Why are you afraid of me, lady?" he said.

"No, I am not afraid of you, brother" she said. "Then if it is that you do not want to put your milk into my eye, I will return. Wanting that in vain I tied up and came to you here, lady. I will return. I will go down stream" saying, having gone and entered his boat, he went down stream. When he went down stream a little way she saw the boat go down under the water.

Appendix I: Alternative treatment of Jebero favourite sentences

Jebero favourite sentences may be analysed in a number of other ways besides the analysis presented in chapter four. Some other treatments are outlined below.

1. It would be possible to treat all favourite sentences as referable to one basic syntactic pattern, by combining the two sentence-types set up in chapter four. Thus all favourite sentences would be regarded as an expansion of this basic structure. This would entail treating the nominal piece as one part of the verbal expansion of the verbal piece.

One disadvantage of this treatment would be the added complexity of the verbal piece, which would consequently embrace every favourite sentence. Furthermore it might be argued that the relationship between the nominal of the nominal piece, which functions as subject of the sentence, and the verb of the verbal piece is rather different from the relationship between other nominals in the sentence and the verb of the verbal piece. The agreement of person and number between the nominal which functions as nucleus of the nominal piece and the verb which functions as nucleus of the verbal piece, and the potentiality of suffixation of the nominal by *-lər*, are features which give formal expression to this difference of relationship, since neither feature is applicable to other nominals in the sentence.

A factor which correlates with the division of Jebero favourite sentences into two types as against an analysis which would set up only one sentence-type is the external distribution of the sentences. There is a marked tendency for favourite sentences of the syntactic pattern verbal piece and nominal piece to occur at the beginning of a conversation or other piece of connected discourse, whereas sentences exhibiting the structure of a single verbal piece seldom occur at such points.

2. Another treatment would be to divide Jebero favourite sentences not into two pieces, the verbal piece and nominal piece, but into three pieces, the verbal piece, the nominal piece functioning as subject, and the nominal piece functioning as object. Thus four sentence-types would be set up; namely, verbal piece sentence, verbal piece and nominal piece (subject) sentence, verbal piece and nominal piece (object) sentence, and verbal piece, nominal piece (subject), and nominal piece (object) sentence. For categories of subject and object see sections **4424** and **555**.

This type of approach to Jebero sentence-types could be extended further, so that additional sentence-types would be set up on the basis of a division of the sentence-type into other pieces in addition to the verbal piece and two types of nominal piece, e.g. adverbial piece; cf. **5533**. These additional primary divisions would serve as the basis for a correspondingly increased number of sentence-types. This treatment was not adopted because in cases such as this, where a number of divisions in a syntactic structure are possible and when a correspondingly large number of sentence-types may be set up, it seems useful to treat certain divisions as primary and others as secondary, thus grouping together many of the possible sentence-types. Thus, it is not denied that the favourite sentence could be further divided into a number of pieces, each with its own function and structure, in addition to the verbal piece and nominal piece. These further divisions, however, are not treated as primary breaks in the structure, serving as the basis for setting up a large number of sentence-types, but are treated at a different level of analysis; not at the sentence and piece level, but at the clause and phrase level, i.e. the next level below the piece level.

3. Yet another alternative may be mentioned. It would also be possible to divide the Jebero favourite sentence into two pieces, the verbal piece and the nominal piece, retaining the terms used in the present analysis, but re-defining the nominal piece to refer not to the piece functioning as subject but to the piece functioning as object. This would seem to raise a question of immediate constituents. In a structure composed of verb, $noun_1$, and $noun_2$, when both verb with $noun_1$ and verb with $noun_2$ are substitutable by the verb alone, where should the division into immediate constituents be made? In Jebero the internal structure provides little basis for the decision, but the fact that though the structures V N_1 and V N_2 are both common yet the second, V N_2, is found more widely than the other, seems to favour the analysis given in the main body of the study. Furthermore, there is a certain congruence of pressure towards such a conclusion, since external distribution as stated in section 1 of this appendix suggests the grouping of the object nominal rather than the subject nominal with the verb.

Appendix II: The term 'collocational'

At a number of points in this monograph the term 'collocational' is used. Collocation was first suggested and used as a technical term by J. R. Firth in his article "Modes of meaning".[1] In that article the collocational level is one of a number of levels of analysis which are set up. The collocational level is established for the description of the way in which words, as individual lexical items as distinct from words as exponents of grammatical categories and classes, keep company with each other. The term is expressly used for the company which words keep with each other. Thus the word *ass* is said to collocate with *you silly* . . . or with *don't be an* . . ., etc. This level of analysis is kept distinct from both the grammatical and the situational levels. For example, the fact that *ass* as a noun occurs after adjectives, *silly*, etc., is irrelevant at the collocational level and is treated at the grammatical level.

There would seem to be many advantages in this procedure. Certain words are often found together while other combinations are never found, though at the grammatical level there are no differences of grammatical categories to account for this difference found in the sentences. Clearly such differences are not to be treated at the grammatical level. It is, of course, possible to sub-divide grammatical categories, setting up sub-classes to cover some of these differences by statements of the type that sub-class A of category X does not occur with sub-class B of category Y. But there are limits to the applicability of this approach, and it seems clear that many of these mutual limitations cannot be brought within the compass of general rules but must be stated in connection with stylistic and situational factors, and are, therefore, best treated not at the grammatical level but at the higher level of collocation.

This is found to be the case at a number of points in this essay. For example, in describing the two criteria which are used to establish the word classes nominal and adverb, it is found that in some instances only one or the other criterion can be applied. It would be possible to set up three sub-classes of the nominal and three of the adverb on this basis. But this would be pointless since these differences are not based on the grammatical structure of the language, since at the grammatical level it is completely insignificant that certain nominals are not found with suffixes

[1] See '*Essays and Studies*,' 1951, p. 120. For further details see also J. R. Firth, 'A Synopsis of Linguistic Theory,' 1930–1955, in *Studies in Linguistic Analysis*, 1957, pp. 7–13.

of order eight. This fact is treated at the collocational not the grammatical level.

In this way the term collocation is extended to cover the occurrence of affixes with stems and not just words with other words. For example, at the grammatical level it is found that verb stems may be followed by one or more suffixes which are termed extensors (73). In describing the extensors it is found that certain extensors never occur with certain other extensors; this is treated at the grammatical level and a system of a number of mutually exclusive classes is set up. It is also found in the case of any one extensor that some verb stems are found suffixed by the particular extensor while others are never suffixed by it. It would be possible to divide verb stems into sub-classes on this basis, but this would achieve little and lead to a very confused description with a very large number of overlapping sub-classes. Furthermore, these sub-classes would not tie in with other parts of the grammatical analysis. Instead, then, these differences are assigned to the collocational level of analysis; e.g. a form like *piðəǩwilituli* 'he builds a house by night', is acceptable on grammatical but not on collocational grounds because the extensor *-wili-* 'by night' does not collocate with the stem *piðəǩ-* 'to build a house'. This is dictated by the context of the culture concerned, in which there is no possibility of building a house by night. To insist on setting up sub-classes of verb stems on the basis of distribution with *-wili-*, and further sub-classes on the basis of distribution with the other 28 extensors, would only serve to confuse the grammatical analysis and submerge under a mass of irrelevant categories those distinctions and categories which do have grammatical significance. This is, therefore, assigned to the collocational level. At this level adequate categories and classes need to be set up. These categories will probably be found to criss-cross the categories of the present grammatical study. Any such collocational categories would be much more fluid than grammatical categories because of their relationship to different contexts of situation and different stylistic factors, varying, for example, from speaker to speaker to a very much greater extent than would grammatical categories.

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